

**THE RELIGIOUS ITINERARY OF A PEOPLE:
THE IMPACT OF THE CHRISTIAN GOSPEL (*Wε CHOηA*)
ON THE KASENA OF GHANA FROM 1906 TO 1992**

Allison Mary Howell

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I hereby declare that this thesis is my own work and constitutes the results of my research in the subject.

Allison Howell
Date: 18 May, 1994

ABSTRACT

The Kasena in northern Ghana first encountered Christian missionaries in 1906 and so began to hear about *Wε choŋa* (God's way). For 50 years, the Roman Catholic Church functioned alone among the Kasena. Over this time most Kasena perceived *Wε choŋa* to be the "white man's religion" and largely irrelevant. Of those who became Christians many appeared to live a dichotomous life. They attended church on Sundays, requesting prayer and Mass be said for their crises and problems, but also sought to resolve issues through divination and traditional means which the church had condemned. From the 1950s, Kasena began to change their perception and acceptance of *Wε choŋa*. This period is also marked by the entry of new churches into the Kasena homeland, exposure to new aspects of the Christian message and increased Kasena migration to the south of Ghana.

This study attempts to understand from the Kasena their reasons for accepting *Wε choŋa* and to discover in what ways they perceive it as relevant to their world and in the context of their family and daily life.

The study initially identifies the historic, environmental and socio-political context of the Kasena. It explores Kasena organisation of social and family life, and the way they seek to live in their environment, to resolve some of their problems and clarify issues, with a view to gaining insight into their ideas and beliefs about life and the transcendental realm. There follows a study of Kasena stories of conversion, the establishment of churches through archival and literary sources and 185 unstructured, open-ended interviews with men and women in different churches and communities. The most significant problems and issues Kasena face, as well as questions they ask each other, are identified through archival material, personal observation, discussion, interviews and from information provided by eighteen church leaders from six denominations who recorded problems and questions addressed to them personally or which were raised in the context of church meetings. Christian reactions to resolve or manage a selected number of these problems, issues and questions are examined through 195 intensive open-ended interviews. The results of the interviews and analysis of selected stories, songs, proverbs, prayers, sermons, and "testimonies" provide an insight into the emerging Kasena Christian thought and theology.

The process may enable us to develop a framework to explore the early stages of Christian development in other places and periods of time as diverse as the Bobo of Burkina Faso and the Franks, Angles and Saxons of Europe.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AOG	Assemblies of God
ATR	African traditional religions
CCNT	Chief Commissioner of the Northern Territories
COLM	Church of the Lord Mission
CP	Church of Pentecost
CSM	cerebro-spinal meningitis
DC	District Commissioner
<i>EH</i>	<i>A History of the English Church and People</i>
GEC	Ghana Evangelism Committee
GILLBT	Ghana Institute of Linguistics, Literacy and Bible Translation
GN	Good News (Churches)
<i>HF</i>	<i>History of the Franks</i>
<i>JRA</i>	<i>Journal of Religion in Africa</i>
MBC	Maranatha Bible College
NAG-A	National Archives of Ghana - Accra
NAG-T	National Archives of Ghana - Tamale
NT	Northern Territories
NTF	New Testament faith
PCG	Presbyterian Church of Ghana
Pers. com.	Personal communication
Pers. obs.	Personal observation
PH	Personal History
PQI	Problems, questions, issues
RC	Roman Catholic
SIM	Society for International Ministries (formerly Sudan Interior Mission)
<i>THSG</i>	<i>Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana</i>
WFD	White Fathers' Diaries

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CHAPTER ONE

THE IMPACT OF THE GOSPEL AND THE RELIGIOUS ITINERARY

1. Introduction

The Kasena¹ of northern Ghana first encountered Christian missionaries in 1906. They began to hear about *Wε chonga* (God's way), this triggered off what David Shank calls a "new religious itinerary"² and a church began to form. After 69 years of evangelisation, a Kasena Priest, Fr. Augustine Kazaresam, expressed deep concern over the state of the church.³ Kazaresam complained that "people are Christians on Sundays and for the rest of the week they are 'real' Kasena."⁴ This, he claimed, occurred because the Spirit of God had "not permeated the Christians' daily life."⁵ Not only did he detect a lack of practical concern and love for neighbours outside the church, but in times of crisis and illness some Christians would seek help through divination and participate in traditional sacrifices and rituals, as well as requesting prayer or Mass. Furthermore, for the majority of Kasena, the gospel seemed to be irrelevant to their daily lives. Only 2.4 percent of Kasena identified themselves as "Christian" in the 1960 census.⁶ To the remainder, Christianity was largely the "white man's religion."

Anselme Sanon describes the gospel, the good news of salvation, as a "nouveau radicalité ... qui introduit une situation consciente de crise au coeur des sociétés qu'elle atteint."⁷ The introduction of the gospel in most African societies has often been dramatically symbolised by a break with the past through the destruction of shrines or non-participation in former religious activity. Such was the action of thousands of coastal people in Liberia, Ivory Coast and the Gold Coast, when the Glebo Prophet William Wadé Harris called them to "abandon and destroy their 'fetishes,' to turn to the one true and living God, to be baptized and forgiven by the Savior".⁸

In 1980, a group of evangelical theologians in which Africans predominated made the following claims about the gospel:

Rightly presented and understood, the gospel of Jesus Christ is capable of meeting the primal man at the point(s) of his greatest need, providing him with ultimate answers to his longings and effective ways of coping with the persistent problems in his life. Sometimes this will happen suddenly; but, more often than not, it is a process or processes of 'power encounter' between the Christian and the primal world-views in which the former transforms the latter's view of God, man, and the 'power' through Jesus Christ.⁹

These claims go beyond what A.F.Walls refers to as a "naive view of the gospel which suggests that all international problems, all social problems will be solved simply by preaching the gospel."¹⁰ The theologians describe the impact as a process in which the gospel interacts with intimate questions, problems and needs of the hearer and in the long term enables the person to cope more adequately with their problems and gives them answers, although not always those which they anticipated.

The proclamation of the gospel message had an impact on the core of Kasena social interaction and their cosmology. According to Kazaresam, however, the Kasena did not perceive *Wε choŋa* to meet them at their points of greatest need nor provide them with ways of coping with the problems which confronted them. In the 16 years since Fr. Kazaresam wrote, significant changes have occurred in the Kasena Christian religious itinerary as a result of a variety of factors, including Kasena migration to the south of Ghana, exposure to new aspects of the gospel message and the entry of new churches into the Kasena homeland. Does the gospel now meet the Kasena at their points of greatest need, providing them with ultimate answers and effective ways of coping? Do Kasena today perceive the gospel to be relevant for their universe?

An understanding of the Kasena Christian religious itinerary and the factors which have influenced it is essential for answering these questions. To do this requires a study of: the nature of the auditorium in which the Kasena heard the gospel message; the Kasena story of their interaction with *Wε choŋa*; the problems, issues and questions which they struggle with; and, how they endeavour to respond to them.

The purpose of this thesis is to analyse the new Christian religious itinerary of the Kasena and to discover whether they perceive that Jesus Christ belongs to them and their world; whether they claim the gospel is relevant to the issues they face in the context of their daily life and family, and whether it answers their questions and meets them at their points of greatest need. It will be argued that if the gospel does not address theologically the issues and problems which Kasena meet in daily family life nor answer the questions they are asking, it will not be perceived as being relevant to them in their context, Jesus Christ will not be seen as either belonging or appropriate to their world, and the transforming power of the gospel will not therefore be appropriated to every area of their lives. From the analysis of the religious itinerary, the theological implications to the critical issues facing the Kasena are considered and a model is proposed which will assist understanding the processes occurring in the religious itinerary.

This study attempts to understand from the Kasena, their story and their own analysis of their interaction with the gospel of Jesus Christ, set in the context of what is known about their history and environment. Kasena themselves are the primary sources of information. As only a few Kasena have produced written material, the research largely depends on oral sources through fieldwork. Data collected from oral sources differs from written historical documents and must be treated in a way that recognises their particular characteristics especially when seeking to recreate the historical past. As Donald Wright points out, oral traditions are not documents replicated with undifferentiated exactness as they are passed from one generation to another.

Rather, they are oral *statements* of the present about the past. Those who now recite them are individuals of the present, viewing the past ... as they want to see it, as they want it to have been (rather than necessarily the way it was) given their present mental fixes on their lives and surroundings."¹¹

This does not negate the use of oral data, but the material must be interpreted accordingly.

A second source for understanding the Kasena auditorium and identifying their problems, questions and issues, is archival materials of the colonial administration and the White Fathers located in the Ghana National Archives and at the Navrongo Mission. A third source consulted is the writings of anthropologists and missionaries. In contrast to other ethnic groups in northern Ghana, there is little published and easily obtainable literature on the Kasena. Although Kunz Dittmer¹² and James Koetting¹³ completed some research on the Kasena of Kayoro, Nakong, Katiu and/or Chiana in the western section of the Kasena-Nankana District, there are no major published works nor unpublished doctoral theses specifically on these four communities. As this study was based from Chiana, it aims to be a major contribution to the understanding of the western section of the Kasena-Nankana District.

In attempting to discover the new religious itinerary of the Kasena, this thesis hopes to contribute to Ghanaian Church historiography. Ogbu Kalu suggests that "church history is more than the history of the institutional structure. It is the story of the pilgrim people of God and their experiences of God's redeeming grace in the midst of existence in various cultural and ecological milieux."¹⁴ Ghanaian denominational or general historical studies have made little reference to the north.¹⁵ Actual studies on Kasena church history are limited to the Roman Catholic Church and up to this point no analysis of Protestant or Independent churches has been undertaken.¹⁶

Although this thesis seeks to understand the Kasena religious itinerary from its historical past, the notion of the religious itinerary is not confined to the Kasena nor to Africa. In the western context, James Fowler has sought over the last decade to develop a model of "Stages of Faith".¹⁷ Although he focuses on "faith", he writes of conversion as an *"ongoing process"*.¹⁸ This is the language of a spiritual or religious itinerary. David Shank considers it critical to understand the character of the religious itinerary not only for its pastoral and theological implications, but also because it promotes understanding of the nature and meaning of religious change and it may provide insight into developments within Western Christianity.¹⁹ This thesis seeks to

provide further insight into the character of both the conversion process and the new religious itinerary and to the role of Scripture, church and mission in the religious itinerary. The resulting new religious itinerary of the Kasena is thus of significance to the theology of mission, or missiology.

The study will also indirectly contribute to theology. By exploring the new religious itinerary of the Kasena, the ways in which Christians react to problems and issues facing them and what they communicate through song, conversation and in talks, we gain insight into the emerging Christian thought and theology and this provides us with a base for a pastoral response to the theological issues raised in the Kasena and other contexts.

2. Outline of Study

The remainder of this Chapter introduces the Kasena and their "auditorium". A framework for exploring the Kasena religious itinerary is outlined; some of the Kasena literature is reviewed and the procedures taken during fieldwork are described. Chapter two explores the Kasena historical and environmental background: their stories of origin, early written documentation, the impact of the slave trade on the Kasena, the period of Colonial rule and the ecological circumstances of the Kasena "homeland". What is known about the Kasena from oral and written sources is examined so that major factors affecting their lives are identified. The impact of these factors on their identity is assessed in order to provide the context in which to understand their response to *Wε choŋa*.

Chapter three examines the cultural and social context of the Kasena, the organisation of their family life and the phenomena they interrelate with. It is also necessary to learn what they see as the factors which affect the family, the environment, and their relationship with the land. Chapters two and three provide the foundation on which the stories of Kasena reactions to the beginning of *Wε choŋa* are built. In Chapters four and five, the reasons for conversion and the initial process

which conversion precipitates in the early stages of their new religious itinerary are explored through stories from people in each of the major church groups located among the Kasena in the north and in a number of churches in the Accra area.

Chapter six explores the problems, issues and questions Kasena face today in order to understand the present situation of the Kasena religious itinerary. In Chapter seven there is an analysis of the Kasena reactions to some of the problems, issues and questions and Kasena Christian songs and talks which gives an overview of their emerging Christian thought and action. A number of the features from the Kasena itinerary and theology are presented in Chapter eight. It is suggested that these features are relevant to many other contexts and so an attempt is made to present a model of the Christian religious itinerary. The Kasena story thus provides us with insight to re-interpreting the experience and itinerary which resulted from the entry of Christianity among other peoples such as the Franks, Angles and Saxons of Europe. The comparison with these societies is included to illustrate that the Kasena experience is neither unique nor exotic.

3. The Kasena location, population and auditorium

Most Kasena today would refer to their "homeland" as their ancestral land in one of three areas: the Kasena-Nankana District of the Upper East Region of Ghana; the south of Burkina Faso; or for the Kasena-Fera, the land west of the Sisili river in the Tumu District of Upper the West Region (Figures 1,2.). Although the Kasem language is shared amongst the people of these areas, this does not imply absolute homogeneity, and aspects of the language differ from community to community. Furthermore, as a result of cyclical and permanent migration, Kasena are found in many other parts of Ghana, especially in the cities of Kumasi and Accra.

Population statistics for the Kasena are difficult to estimate. Although Table 1 gives a summary of the population for Chiana, Katiu, Kayoro and Nakong, gleaned from the respective census reports, census statistics prior to 1948 are not reliable. Up

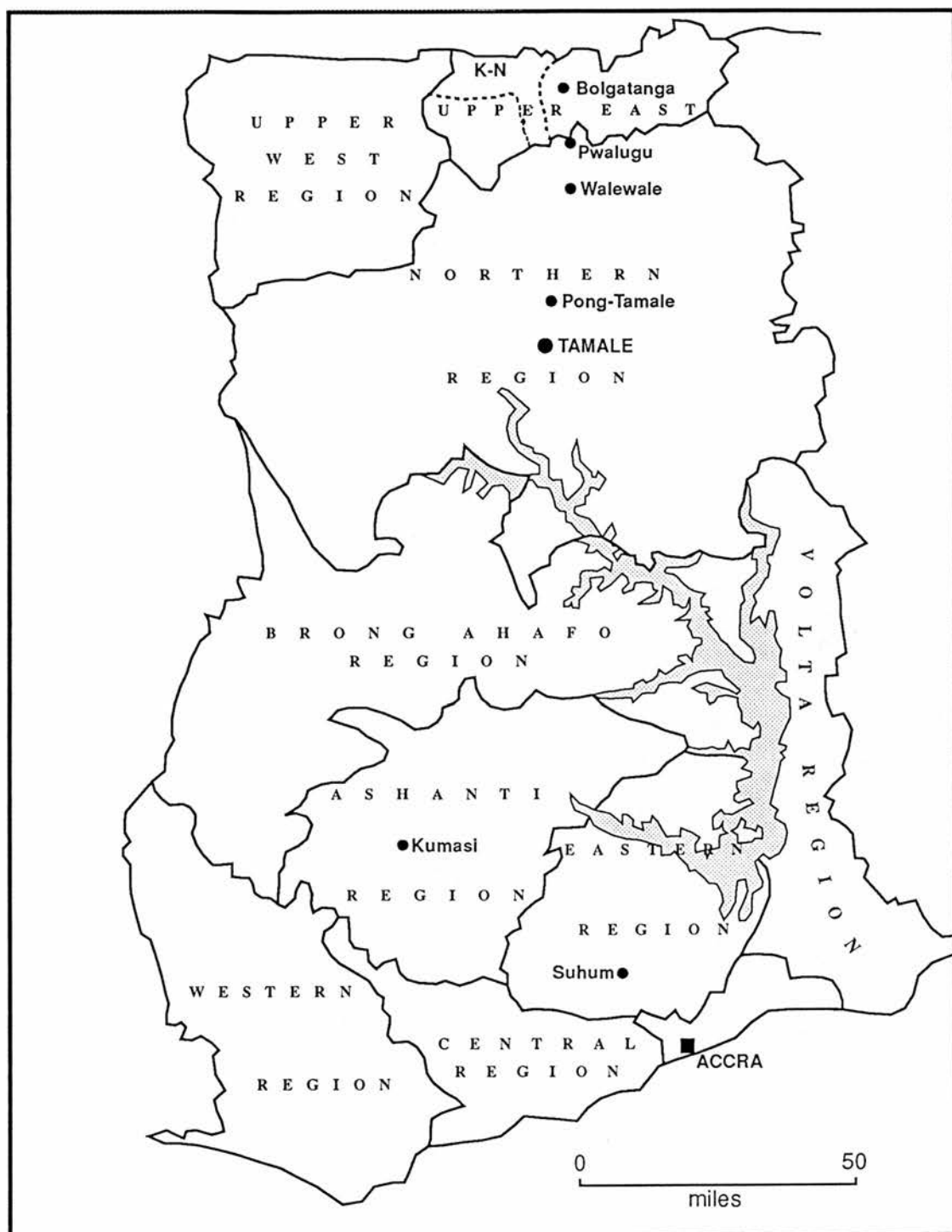


Figure 1. Regions of Ghana and Kasena-Nankana District.

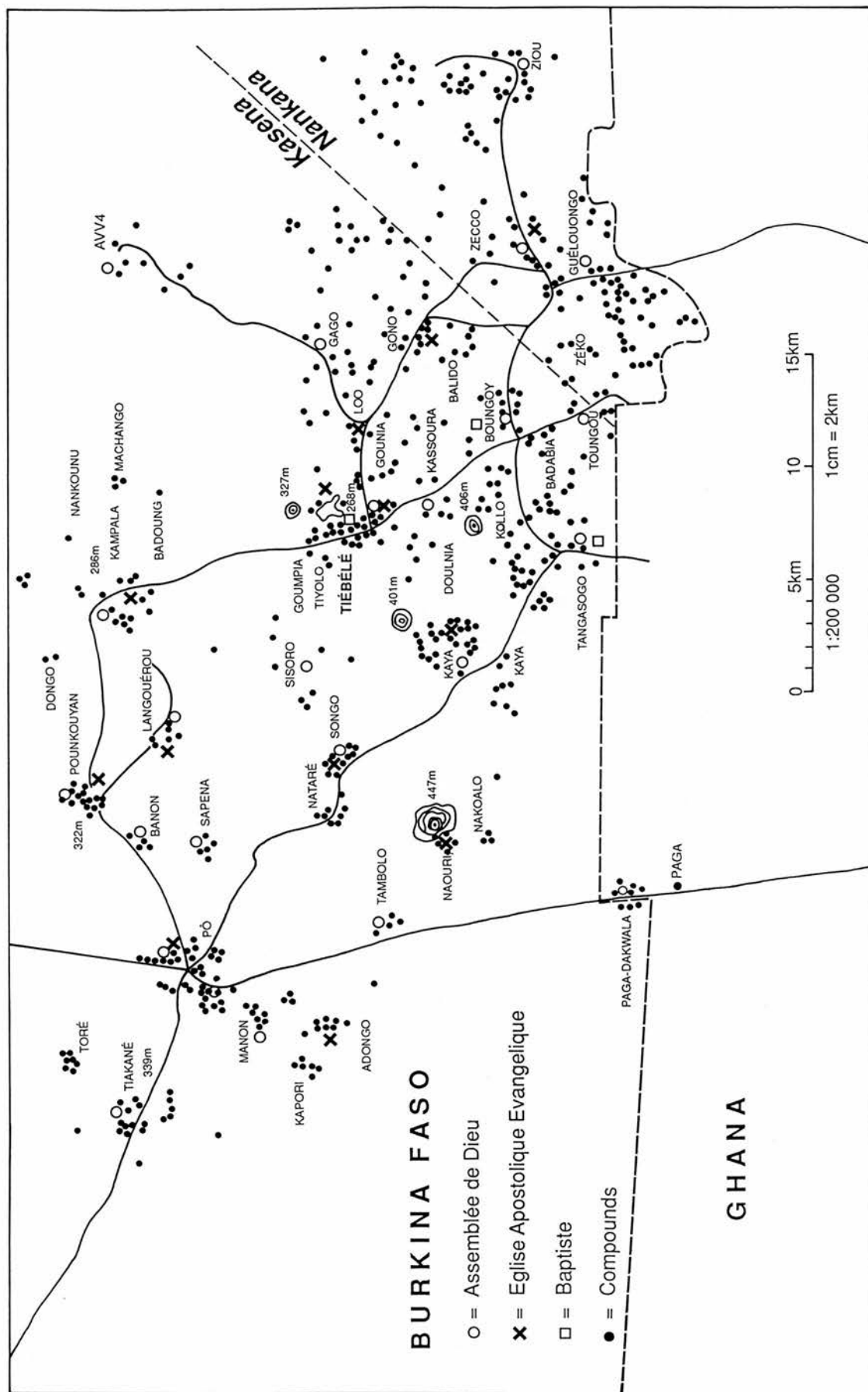


Figure 2. Kasena communities in Burkina Faso and locations of Protestant Churches

till the 1970 census, people were asked their ethnic group; Kasena living outside the Kasena-Nankana District, however, would not necessarily refer to themselves as Kasena, but rather use the more general term "Grusi". In 1960, 33,330 Kasena were recorded in the Kasena-Nankana District.²⁰

Table 1. Population Estimates for the Western Kasena-Nankana

Place	1911	1921	1931	1948	1960	1970	1984
Chiana	6000	5590	7624	9059	7831	8331	17305
Katiu	-	2023	3167	3513	2966	2564	3984
Nakong	2750	1805	1273	1074	571	875	662
Kayoro	6000	2745	3030	3515	2987	2483	7510
TOTAL	14750	12163	15094	17161	14355	14253	29461

Since the 1960 census, ethnic affiliation has not been recorded and the Ghana government changed the census areas from the Kasena-Nankana District to the Chiana-Paga and Navrongo Enumeration Areas, making it difficult to compare Kasena population changes. The 1984 census recorded 86,289 persons in the Chiana-Paga area, of whom approximately 51,393 were Kasena.²¹ The same census showed Navrongo area having a population of 150,723, where possibly 30 to 50 percent would be Kasena.²² The Ghana Evangelism Committee (GEC) estimated in their 1985 *National Church Survey* that there were 95,000 Kasena in northern Ghana.²³ In 1992 it is possible that between 89,000 and 100,000 Kasena live in the Upper East Region.

Population density is as high as 200 people per square kilometre in the Navrongo area, but would be lower in the western section and in the Kasena-Fera area there are less than 9 people per sq km.²⁴ The Kasena population is much larger than these figures indicate, because large numbers have migrated, mostly temporarily, to other parts of the country. Although their numbers may appear insignificant when compared with other groups of people, this does not reduce the reality of their reaction to the gospel of Jesus Christ and the insight this gives for other people and areas.

The Kasena world in which they heard the gospel of Jesus Christ is like an "auditorium" set in the open, without visible boundaries demarcating their cultural, social or spiritual activities. The spiritual realm interacts with almost every aspect of social, cultural, psychological, emotional, physical and environmental life. The supernatural is interwoven through their cosmology and expressed in their socio-cultural relationships. Furthermore, Kasena culture is not, nor has been in the past, a closed system cut off from outside influences. Social and cultural interaction with other people has introduced change, and within Kasena culture there is evidence that Kasena think and do things differently from one another in spite of an overall appearance of uniformity. Within their auditorium, the Kasena observe or listen to events which are often not composed of a linear sequence of events but contain subsets of events performed concurrently with each other; actors and observers intermingle; the spiritual and physical interweave and flow together.

The term "auditorium" is best explained by two illustrations. When Kasena attend a funeral it is difficult to hear and observe the total event at any one time. Although a funeral is performed within the environs of an extended family compound, and there is an overall chronological sequence of events, an event in the funeral may be composed of multiple events often performed simultaneously by differing people within and in the surrounding environs of the house. For example, while a group of men squat outside the front entrance of the house performing ritual associated with the spirit realm, one can at the same time discover: a number of old women in one of the inner courtyards of the house, sitting around the funeral mat singing funeral songs; two or three young women in another courtyard cooking food; outside another room, a young man repairing a bicycle which is needed to send someone on an errand for the funeral elder; outside the house under a tree, a group of young men drumming and singing, entertaining a daughter's in-laws who have come to greet; under another tree, a group of people preparing to greet the elders seated under a shelter near the entrance of the house; and, at the back of the house three brothers speaking to each other in animated tones about the right way to perform something.

The second illustration results from observing a play on the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ performed by a Kasena church. The setting was in the open, a short distance from a building. It was performed on Good Friday night, when the moon was full and the only artificial light was a small kerosene lantern. The audience sat in a large circle around the players. However, it was difficult at times to distinguish between the players and the audience because of the movement and the close proximity of spectators to actors. It was not a closed theatre with external sounds excluded; one could hear the dogs barking, cars passing on a nearby road and the sound of drums beating at a funeral some distance away. The discovery of a viper and a scorpion among the audience did not greatly disrupt the play. Each intruder was quickly disposed of while the by-standers close by "praised God" for the way he protected them from being harmed.

In both illustrations there was an ebb and flow, an interweaving of the physical, spiritual and social and yet an order to the sequence of events. The nature of the Kasena auditorium is influenced by their ideas, values, knowledge and beliefs which are shared through the Kasem language, as well as the social and cultural relationships between them and their interaction with their physical environment. This provides an image of the auditorium in which the Kasena heard the gospel and began a new religious itinerary.

4. Steps involved in understanding the Kasena religious itinerary

To establish the Kasena itinerary, three steps are involved:

- (1) Exploring the auditorium: Kasena history, environment and culture
- (2) Learning the Kasena story of their interaction with *We choŋa* from them
- (3) Analysing the problems, questions and issues in the new religious itinerary and Christian expression in songs and talks

Harold Turner postulates that "the study of religion is polymethodical" because "religion is a human activity and experience that is liable to be interwoven with all aspects of human life, and its study therefore requires, sooner or later, all the human

sciences."²⁵ He encourages the use of methods employed in the social sciences, psychology, geography, environmental studies, ecology, history, philosophy of religion and theology of religion. However, he stresses that phenomenology and the history of religion provide the most critical methods for studying religion for they take the religious dimension seriously thus lessening the danger of the researcher falling into a reductionism or unscientific distortion of data.²⁶ Within this process, I drew upon methods from a number of these disciplines.

(1) Exploring the auditorium: Kasena history, environment and culture

The African Christian religious itinerary does not emerge out of a static past. As Janet Hodgson asserts,

African religious movements cannot be studied in isolation as discrete entities which are self-explanatory. Research has shown the importance of identifying new movements as part of an ongoing and continuous process of religious and social change set within a specific socio-political, economic, and historic context.²⁷

What historical, environmental, political, cultural and social factors shaped the Kasena auditorium? What problems and issues did Kasena face and how did they attempt to resolve or clarify them? This step involved consulting historical and cultural archival and literary sources and drawing on information from oral sources, through interviews with older Kasena to explore what the Kasena auditorium was like. To learn about the Kasena environment and culture, I have used methods drawn from geography, anthropology and phenomenology. As with phenomenologists who aim to understand the essence or meaning of religious phenomena by setting aside the methodical "thoughts, concepts, formulas, and theories",²⁸ I have attempted to "bracket out" previously held beliefs and assumptions to enable Kasena to explain phenomena in their own terms.²⁹ This involved viewing empathetically the religious beliefs from the perspective of the Kasena, hearing what they have to say, comprehending their feelings and interpretations, learning their names for phenomena and examining the meaning of these phenomena by noting the relationships between them. I consider it important to use the Kasem name for phenomena and explore their Kasena meaning.

The English terms given in the past for phenomena often unconsciously carry the judgemental perception of those who gave the item its English name, and this in turn has become part of the vocabulary of English speaking Kasena.

The approach used to learn about Kasena beliefs, religious or otherwise, and their interrelationship with the unseen realm was mostly indirect. Asking direct blunt questions about what a person believes or why, can be perceived as threatening and sometimes as rude. Belief is reflected through a number of things - myths, proverbs, songs and speeches. Belief is also reflected in the way people try to respond to issues or problems that confront them or in the way they answer questions others in the community ask. Thus belief is also expressed through the ritual performed and in the symbols used in ritual.

(2) Learning from Kasena the story of their interaction with *Wε choga*

The second step of the process is to understand the new religious itinerary which occurs as a result of a person encountering a new religious faith and deciding embrace it. What message(s) did Kasena hear presented to them? What filters, whether church or mission, did the gospel message pass through? What factors contributed to conversion? Two main activities are involved: listening to the conversion stories of those who have begun the new religious itinerary to comprehend the reasons for conversion; and analysing stories, songs and sermons as well as everyday conversation which often reveals deep reflections of values. Thus Christian people tell their story - reflecting on their own experiences.

(3) Analysing the problems, questions and issues in the new religious itinerary and Christian expression in songs and talks

In order to illuminate the current position of the Kasena on their itinerary and show whether Christian Kasena believe the gospel of Jesus Christ belongs to them and is adequate to help them in daily life, it has been necessary to:

- a. identify the problems and issues Kasena face, as well as questions they are asking of each other; and the new message they heard.
- b. determine with Kasena what they considered to be the most significant problems, issues and questions.
- c. learn how Christians attempt to resolve, respond or manage these problems, issues and questions as their manner of resolution or response helps to identify differences in belief and in ways of responding. In doing this one gains an understanding of their oral theology; the "God-talk" of ordinary people.

5. Archival and Literary Sources on the Kasena

Most of the archival material and the literature published on the Kasena is in sources not readily available to the Kasena themselves. Early Colonial Reports on the Kasena begin in 1901 with the Report of the Boundary Commission which passed through the Kasena area in 1900.³⁰ The communities of "Kaioiro" and "Tiana" were erroneously described as "Frafra". The Commission's Report on their entry to "Tiana" resulted in the people of Navrongo being referred to not as Kasena or Nankana, but as "Tiansis".³¹ The early documents provide important information on trade, labour, migration, the subjugation of slavery, disputes between communities, the agricultural situation and associated problems, sickness, and perceptions of marriage and family life. Reflected in letters and reports are also personal opinions, misconceptions about the Kasena and at times overtly derogatory comments. This is particularly noticeable in the *Annual Report of the Northern Territories for 1907*, where not only was the "absolute imbecility" of chiefs referred to, but northern peoples were depicted as lawless in matrimonial affairs and totally lacking in respect for the head of the family.³² Albert Awedoba denounced these descriptions and illustrated their inaccuracies.³³

Several Colonial Officers who worked in Navrongo published limited accounts of their observations of Kasena culture and life. A.W.Cardinall, a District Commissioner (DC), published an account of the northern groups.³⁴ His account is

of limited use in understanding the Kasena cultural background because he treats all the groups as homogeneous. For example, he incorrectly applies Nankane (or Frafra) terms for the guardian of the earth shrine to Kasena areas such as Saa (Katiu) where only Kasem terms would be used. His breakdown of where Kasena, Nankana and Bulsa live is also inaccurate.³⁵ Moreover, a negative attitude towards the Kasena permeates his writing, reflected particularly in his observations of Kasena trying to survive in a British-run court of law.³⁶ In contrast to Cardinall, R.S.Rattray attempted to study each of the northern groups individually.³⁷ He found it difficult to distinguish clearly where one group finished and another started. He briefly describes both the Kasena-Fera (whom he calls the Awuna and Nagwa) and the Kasena in the Paga area. His description of the Kasena-Fera is more substantial, giving some historical information as well as describing aspects of organisational structure, marriage and funeral practices. However, his information on the Kasena is restricted because of a difficult interview with the Paga chief. He briefly describes their shrines and marriage and funeral practices. Like Rattray, M.Manoukian attempts to distinguish between the northern groups in his description of their lives and languages.³⁸

The earliest and most extensive reports on the Kasena were written by the White Fathers in Navrongo, but this material is mostly located in diaries and unpublished books. They learned Kasem and consequently gained much deeper knowledge of the Kasena. The White Fathers' Diaries (WFD)³⁹ provide insight into the establishment of the Navrongo Mission, their impressions of the Kasena people, problems encountered, both personally and for the Kasena, and their relationship with government. They frequently report crises such as epidemics, climatic fluctuations, and locust invasions. A good percentage of the diaries refer to problems Kasena face in their interaction with the Christian faith. However, it is mostly presented from the perspective of the missionaries rather than that of the Kasena.

The White Fathers published articles as early as 1909 in their own mission journals. Fr. O. Morin, one of the founders of the Mission, wrote of "Gourounsi" origins and his understanding of their religious beliefs and practices, especially

sacrifice.⁴⁰ Although he claims that the Kasena told him they did not know their own origins, his understanding of the authority of the househead is far more accurate than that given by some of the British Administrators. In the 1930s Fr. E. Champagne wrote a series of articles on the religious beliefs of "Les Noirs d'Afrique".⁴¹ He erroneously assumes homogeneity of the "Gurunsi" and then speculates on their descent from the Jews.⁴² In 1944, Champagne describes what he calls the Kasena dedication of children to ancestral spirits and the burial procedures for a very old person, but his descriptions draw from practices of both the Kasena and Nankana.⁴³

Fr. Charles Gagnon wrote prolifically about the Kasena, particularly during the 1940s and 50s. He published some small articles of which many were later gathered into an unpublished manuscript.⁴⁴ This and the copies of two other unpublished manuscripts on Kasena culture and the history of the Mission are located in the Navrongo Mission.⁴⁵ Gagnon gained a rapid knowledge of Kasem after his arrival and his studies are a comprehensive attempt to grapple with Kasena life and belief. However, his analysis of Kasena beliefs about God (*Wε*) reflect misunderstanding of the range of uses for the Kasena term *wε*.⁴⁶ Benedict Der assumed Gagnon's analysis to be correct and used it as the basis for an article in which he describes the Kasena sacrificing directly to God.⁴⁷ Der has also published the first comprehensive account of the history of the founding of the Roman Catholic Mission at Navrongo.⁴⁸ Since this publication a number of Kasena Roman Catholic Priests have produced materials analysing their own situation. Fr. Augustine Kazaresam's dissertation examines Kasena social life, religious beliefs and the introduction of Christianity through the coming of the White Fathers. He discusses the impact which this had on the Kasena, aspects of social change, the weaknesses existing in the expression of the Christian faith through the church, and he presents the issues requiring clarification.⁴⁹ Although he does not include any discussion of other church groups, his work provides substantial insight from the perspective of a Kasena. Fr. Awia has also produced a series of small booklets on the Kasena, the changes which impacted their lives and the early Catholic Kasena Pioneers in Navrongo.⁵⁰

Three other Kasena Catholic Priests have also provided insight from their perspective into Kasena cultural issues. Fr. Abasi has produced a detailed description of the specialists responsible for burials among the Kasena, while Fr. Augustine Ayaga wrote a short paper comparing the Kasena naming ceremony with the Christian rite of baptism.⁵¹ Fr. Atadana studied the Kasena burial and funeral customs and reacted to these from the context of Christian doctrine.⁵² At various institutions in Ghana, Kasena students have written short papers on Kasena problems, issues, and practices such as the widowhood rites and female excision, but there has been no co-ordinated effort to collect these papers.⁵³

Published anthropological works have predominantly concentrated on the Kasena in Burkina Faso and are mostly in German or French. Both K.Dittmer and J.Zwernemann explored the issue of Kasena divination.⁵⁴ Dittmer's main publication is on the institution of Voltaic sacral chieftaincy with a strong emphasis on the phenomenon of the *kwara* (ritual horn) associated with chieftaincy.⁵⁵ From his interviews among the Ghana Kasena he includes in his appendices (Anhang 8-12), genealogical lists of Chiefs from Chiana, Katiu, Kayoro, Nakong and Navrongo. His material is published in German with the exception of the English appendices (Anhang 23-25) containing material which the Chiana Chief, R.A.Ayagitam II, compiled on the oral history of the Chiana Kasena.⁵⁶ In 1988, the Chief gave me material he had compiled on the founding of Chiana and on the chieftaincy.⁵⁷ This was edited into a short paper entitled "the Story of the Founding of Chiana".⁵⁸ A limited number of copies were typed but the material was not formally published. Copies of the paper were given to the Chief and some were circulated amongst people in the community.

Herta Haselberger undertook studies on Kasena architecture, carving, craft, metalwork, weaving and tatooing in Burkina Faso.⁵⁹ Zwernemann's studies include the oral traditions of the Kasena community of Pô, their kinship relations and process of socialization; an analysis of the Kasem dialects in S. W. Koelle's *Polyglotta Africana* and more recently an article on Kasena beliefs about thunder and rain.⁶⁰ In this article he specifically refers to the practices of the rain guardian at "Saa" in

"Keti". During the 1980s, Danouta Liberski, a French anthropologist, began to study the Kasena of Burkina Faso. She has explored the Kasena reckoning of time and the relationship of this to the performance of ritual.⁶¹

D. St. John Parsons has published material on the oral histories of Paga and Navrongo as well as other legends, but they contain no material on the western Kasena area.⁶² The Ghana Bureau of Languages has produced a series of publications in Kasem for use in schools.⁶³ They have also published material in Kasem by S.P. Wedjong on Funerals, Songs, proverbial sayings, and God making the world.⁶⁴ More recently the Ghana Institute of Linguistics, Literacy and Bible Translation (GILLBT) has published short stories in Kasem as well as literacy primers.⁶⁵ The Catholic Church from the outset translated portions of Scripture, prayers, hymns, and the catechism.⁶⁶ Throughout the 1970s Philip and Judy Hower of GILLBT worked on the translation of the New Testament. By the early 1980s GILLBT published copies of the Gospel of John as well as segments of Luke and James. The New Testament was officially published in 1988.⁶⁷

Three unpublished doctoral theses have been written on the Kasena. James Koetting studied the influences of migration and urbanisation on Kasena flute and drum music.⁶⁸ The study was based in Nima, Accra, but the author also undertook some research in northern communities, including Kayoro. He found that some contextual aspects of the music had changed through the migration process, but the actual music, especially that tied to specific areas of culture or work such as funerals, war songs and farming, had altered little.⁶⁹ Edward Decarbo examined artistry among Kasem speakers using a phenomenological approach to determine Kasena concepts of "the arts".⁷⁰ He showed how the Western concept of "the arts" could not be uncritically applied to the Kasena cultural setting. His research was based in Navrongo. Neither Koetting nor Decarbo spoke Kasem, but they worked through interpretation. Although Decarbo perceived the "Navrongo District" to be "of diverse ethnic origins," he erroneously describes the District as "only using a single language"⁷¹ when in reality two unrelated languages, Kasem and Nankane, exist.

Albert Awedoba has produced the first doctoral dissertation by a Kasena. He examined Kasena-Nankana notions of wealth and exchange, concentrating his research in Navrongo and Paga.⁷² He argues that both Kasem and Nankane languages are widely spoken and understood in a type of bilingualism.⁷³ This may well be the case in Navrongo and its immediate environs which are the localities where the Kasena and Nankana meet. However, in the Western section from Chiana to Nakong, Nankane is not widely known and people in the community constantly reinforce the differences between the Kasena and the Nankana. Awedoba's dissertation contains excellent descriptions of marriage customs, funeral practices and values or notions of wealth and exchange. Koetting presents the Kasena as "culturally homogeneous",⁷⁴ a claim which the Kasena themselves would not make, for they recognise and tolerate diversity in their cultural practices. Awedoba illustrates this by referring to the Kasena saying which indicates that each section has its own style of mixing flour-water.⁷⁵

In 1981, I completed a background "Profile on the Western Section" for a Ministry of Health Interim Committee on the needs of the four communities in the Western Section and in 1987 prepared a paper on marriage practices to present the perspective of the western Kasena in community discussions on marriage issues.⁷⁶ In sum, there is minimal material available on the western Kasena area, and only Dr Awedoba and the Kasena Catholic Priests have recorded their opinions on issues from a Kasena perspective.

6. Fieldwork

From October 1991 to September 1992 I worked and lived among the Kasena in either the north or south of Ghana to research both archival and oral sources.⁷⁷ The fieldwork was divided into three phases:

Phase one: Kasena-Nankana District - October 1991 to May 1992

Phase two: Northern Region and Accra - May 1992 to August 1992

Phase three: Kasena-Nankana District - August, September 1992.

The research on the social and cultural background of the Kasena centred mostly in

the western section of the Kasena-Nankana areas of Chiana, Katiu, Kayoro and Nakong because of the lack of detailed previous research in those areas. Furthermore, I was familiar with all four areas and known by the four chiefs. Although most of the stories of the religious itinerary were gathered in this area, interviews were also conducted in the Kasena communities of Paga, Paga-Buru, Navrongo, as well as in Pwalugu, Walewale, Pong-Tamale (the Northern Region) and in the city of Accra. Accra was selected as a second major location to gather information because of the numbers of Kasena who have migrated there.

The research methods used included:

(1) Participant observation, discussion and unstructured interviewing. The Kasena in the Western section of the Kasena-Nankana District mostly live in dispersed compounds rather than in clustered villages. To observe and interact with family and community life is difficult unless one lives in a family compound. For four months in the first phase, I lived with five different "families" (i.e., extended family compounds) in the localities of Chiana, Kayoro and Katiu. In three out of the five cases I spent three weeks in each house and then a shorter period in the other two compounds. I also aimed at attending and being a participant observer of every individual church throughout the northern Kasena area. Although this aim was not fully realised, almost all churches were visited with the exception of some in Navrongo, discovered towards the end of my fieldwork.

(2) Listening to and, where possible, recording stories, songs, proverbs, prayers, sermons and "testimonies".

(3) Development of "Personal History" (PH) Interviews.

Throughout the entire period of fieldwork, in both the Kasena-Nankana area and amongst Kasena migrant communities in the Northern Region and Accra, I conducted 185 largely unstructured, open-ended discussion type interviews with men and women in different churches and communities. The purpose of these interviews was to piece together the Kasena story of their response to the gospel. I attempted to identify the

nature of their religious itinerary by looking particularly at the role of the seminal people in the church.

(4) Discovering problems, questions and issues from three sources:

- a. archival material
- b. personal observation and interviewing
- c. eighteen church leaders from six denominations recorded problems and questions addressed to them personally or raised in the context of church meetings.

(5) Assessment of Kasena Christians' interaction with their problems, questions and issues (PQI Interview).

For assessing the problems, questions and issues an intensive open-ended interview schedule was prepared. This was administered by five Kasena men to 195 respondents.

7. Considerations of interactive research: understanding and feedback

As a result of living among the Kasena and attempting to learn the language, I am aware that in terms of status I am still not Kasena. Furthermore, in any piece of research it is important to realise that people sometimes give answers they think the inquirer wants rather than their actual view on an issue or problem. For this reason I attempted to corroborate and confirm what I was told either by reference to documentary sources or by discussing similar issues with others.

Having over the years endeavoured constantly to learn Kasem, I can now conduct interviews without the aid of interpreters. However, when Kasena resort to "deep Kasem", i.e., proverbial language or indirect speech, or when they become highly agitated or excited and speak rapidly, my comprehension is still limited. Furthermore, there are times when there are no English equivalents for Kasem words or concepts. I recorded most Kasem interviews I personally conducted and then went back over the interview material with a bi-lingual Kasem-English speaker to clarify

what was said and meant during the interview. However, to record is an intrusion, and on occasions when I felt the person was ill at ease, I either did not record or, if I had not met the person before, spoke casually with them, told them of the purpose of my visit and then sought permission to return at their convenience so they had time to think before I returned.

There was a need to distinguish between "suspending judgment" from personal presuppositions and being "scientifically detached" in relationships with people in the community while doing research. Anthropologists in the past have often stressed the importance of being an "objective" researcher who is "scientifically detached" from those he or she is studying. However, among those critical of this approach, Hussein Fahim found it necessary to be more "consciously sympathetic" to the hopes and aspirations of the people he studied.⁷⁸ During fieldwork, there were occasions when it was necessary to abandon the "scheduled" research because of requests to help transport a sick person to hospital or requests from District Assembly representatives to begin collecting new data to update the "Profile" I compiled in 1982.

Several church groups specifically requested feedback from the research and this commenced during the fieldwork. I reported periodically to the church leaders from five denominational groups on an individual or group basis to discuss the progress of the research. In addition two meetings were held, one in the north and the other in the south of Ghana, at which I presented for discussion some of my initial impressions of the findings during fieldwork. This allowed me to report on progress and gain feedback from people in the community as to what they considered to be necessary to examine.

NOTES

1. The name "Kasena" is spelt in a variety of ways in English and French publications. L.Tauxier mentions Kassouna, Kasséna, Kasm, Kasem. (L.Tauxier, *Nouvelles Notes sur le Mossi et le Gourounsi*, Études Soudanaises, Paris, Emile Larose, 1924, p.37.) It is also written as Kassena, Kasene, Kassouma, Kassanga. The District name often appears as "Kassena-Nankana District", but I have chosen to spell it "Kasena-Nankana" to maintain consistency with the spelling Albert Awedoba uses (A.Awedoba, *Aspects of Wealth and Exchange with reference to the Kasena-Nankana of Ghana*, Oxford University, D.Phil, 1985.)
2. D.Shank, "African Christian religious itinerary: toward an understanding of the religious itinerary from the faith of African traditional religion(s) to that of the New Testament", in A.F.Walls and W.R.Shenk (eds) *Exploring New Religious Movements: Essays in Honour of Harold W. Turner*, Indiana, Mission Focus, 1990, pp. 143-162.
3. A.Kazaresam, *The Kasena of Ghana and Pastoral Approach*, Catholic University of Louvain, Dissertation presented at the Institute "Lumen Vitae", International Institute of Catechetics and Pastoral, Bruxelles, 1975, p.101.
4. *Ibid*, p.56.
5. *Ibid*, p.101.
6. *Population Census of Ghana 1960*, Special Report 'E', Tribes in Ghana, Census Office, Accra, 1964.
7. A.Sanon, *Tierce Église, ma Mère ou La Conversion d'une Communauté païenne au Christ*, Institut Catholique de Paris, Thèse de Doctorat présentée à la Faculté de Théologie, 1970, p.121.
8. D.Shank, "The Legacy of William Wadé Harris," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research*, 1986, 10(4), p.170. G. Haliburton also writes of Harris teaching people to "believe in one God, abandon fetishes, observe Sunday, commit no adultery, be obedient to the government, use alcohol temperately and finally to work hard for six days of the week." (G.Haliburton, *The Prophet Harris*, London, Longman, p.119.)
9. Thailand Report No.18, *Christian Witness to People of African Traditional Religions*, Lausanne Occasional Papers, Lausanne Committee for World Evangelization, Wheaton Illinois, 1980, p.15.
10. A.Walls, "Africa and Christian Identity," *Mission Focus*, 1978, 4(7), p.12.
11. D.Wright, "Can a blind man really know an elephant? Lessons on the limitations of oral tradition from Paul Irwin's *Liptako Speaks*," *History in Africa*, 1982, 9, p.320.

12. K.Dittmer, *Die Sakralen Häuptlinge der Gurunsi im Obervolta-Gebeit*, Hamburg: Mitteilungen aus dem Museum für Völkerkunde in Hamburg, BD XXVII, 1961.
13. J.Koetting, *Continuity and Change in Ghanaian Kasena Flute and Drum Music: A Comparative Study of the Homeland and Nima/Accra*, University of California, Los Angeles, Ph.D., 1980.
14. O.Kalu, "African Church Historiography", in T. Falola, *African Historiography: Essays in Honour of J. Ade Ajayi*, London, Longman, 1991, p.178.
15. F.Bartels, *The Roots of Ghana Methodism*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1965. H.Pfann, *A Short History of the Catholic Church in Ghana*, Cape Coast, Catholic Mission Press, 1965. H.W.Debrunner, *A History of Christianity in Ghana*, Accra, Waterville, 1967.
16. B.Der, "Church-State Relations in Northern Ghana," *THSG*, 1974, 15(1), pp.41-61; B.Der, "God and sacrifice in the traditional religions of the Kasena and Dagaba of Northern Ghana," *JRA*, 1980, 11, pp.172-187. J.Awia, *Navrongo and its Pioneers*, Wa, Ghana, Wa Catholic Press, c. 1989, and *Threefold Encounter in Northern Ghana*, Navrongo, IFCAT, n.d. And in Kazaresam, *The Kasena of Ghana*.
17. J.Fowler, *Stages of Faith: the Psychology of Human Development and the Quest for Meaning*, San Francisco, Harper and Row, 1981; *Becoming Adult, Becoming Christian: Adult Development and Christian Faith*, San Francisco, Harper and Row, 1984; and "The Vocation of Faith Developmental Theory", in J.Fowler (et al.), *Stages in of Faith and Religious Development: Implications for Church, Education, and Society*, London, SCM Press, 1992.
18. Fowler, *Becoming Christian, Becoming Adult*, p.140. Fowler initially defines conversion in his book *Stages of Faith* as "a significant recentering of one's previous conscious or unconscious images of value and power, and the conscious adoption of a new set of master stories in the commitment to reshape one's life in a new community of interpretation and action." (pp.281, 282.)
19. Shank, "African Christian religious itinerary", pp.144,157.
20. *1960 Population Census of Ghana*, Vol.2, Statistics of Localities and Enumeration Areas, Census Office Accra, 1962.
21. *1984 Population Census of Ghana*, Special Report on Localities by Local Authorities, Upper East Region, Statistical Service, Accra, Ghana, 1989.
22. The Ghana Evangelism Committee (GEC) recorded percentages of Kasena in each community. In the figures for the Navrongo Local Council (L/C) area, the first nine communities are listed as Kasena. However, all are Nankana communities of whom only a small percentage of women married into the community are Kasena. Assuming the remaining percentages for the other communities in the L/C are relatively correct, it appears that about 30 percent of the Navrongo L/C are Kasena. (GEC, Upper East

Regional Church/Evangelism Survey, Accra North, GEC, 1988, pp.1/5-1/14.)

23. Ghana Evangelism Committee (GEC), *National Church Survey: Facing the Unfinished Task of the Church in Ghana*, Accra North, GEC, 1989, p.121.

24. K.Dickson and G.Benneh, *A New Geography of Ghana*, London, Longman, Revised edition, 1988, p.47.

25. H.Turner, "The Way Forward in the Religious Study of African Primal Religions," *JRA*, 1981, 12 (1), p.1.

26. *Ibid.*

27. Hodgson, 'Don't fence me in,' pp.89,90.

28. Hans-Jürgen Greschat, "'The founder' of prophet movements and the phenomenology of religion," in A.F.Walls and W.R.Shenk, *Exploring New Religious Movements*, Indiana, Mission Focus, 1990, p.27.

29. J. Cox, *Expressing the Sacred: An Introduction to the Phenomenology of Religion*, Zimbabwe, University of Zimbabwe Publications, 1992, p.17. Phenomenologists refer to this "bracketing out" as *epochē*.

30. Public Record Office (PRO) CO.879/65, No.13, Governor Major Nathan to Mr Chamberlain, 18-2-1901.

31. National Archives of Ghana - Accra (NAG-A) ADM 56/1/19. Lt.Col. Morris to the Governor, 30-8-1901.

32. NAG-A ADM 56/1/19. *Annual Report on the Northern Territories for the Year* (hereafter *NT Annual Report*) 1901.

33. Awedoba, Aspects of Wealth and Exchange, pp.24,25.

34. A.W.Cardinall, *Natives of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast: their Customs, Religion and Folklore*, London, G.Routledge and Sons Ltd, 1920.

35. *Ibid*, pp.26,114.

36. *Ibid*, pp.51,52.

37. R.S.Rattray, *The Tribes of the Ashanti Hinterland*, Vol.I,II, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1932.

38. M.Manoukian, *Tribes of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast*, Ethnographic Survey of Africa, Western Africa, Pt 5. London, International African Institute, 1951.

39. Mission de Notre Dame de Sept Douleurs, *Diaire de Navarro 1906-1949*, Vols.1-3. Referred to hereafter as White Fathers' Diaries (WFD). Other authors have referred to these as the "Navrongo Mission Diaries".
40. O.Morin, "Les Gourounsi," *Missions d'Afrique*, 1909, 5 (4), pp.264-270.
41. E.Champagne, "Les Noirs d'Afrique (1. Leurs Croyances Religieuses)," *Bulletin des Missions*, 1933, 12(4), pp.197-211; "Les Noirs d'Afrique (1. Leurs Croyances Religieuses)," *Bulletin des Missions*, 1933, 13(3), pp.157-164.
42. Champagne, "Leurs Croyances Religieuses," pp.157-164.
43. E.Champagne, "Traits de la Vie Païenne dans la Préfecture Apostolique de Navrongo," *Annali Lateranensi*, 1944, 8, pp.147-154.
44. C.Gagnon, Mentalité Païenne, (Articles publiés dans le Bulletin des Pères Blancs, et dans diverses autres revues, 1928-1948) n.d. (This document is a carbon copy of the original and no accents are marked through out the entire text); "Les Kassénés: Croyances sur Dieu," *Missions d'Afrique*, 1945, 41 (4), pp.121; "Les Kassénés: IV - Culte des Ancêtres," *Missions d'Afrique des Pères Blancs*, 1945, 41 (9), pp.282-284.
45. C. Gagnon, Moeurs et Coutumes indigènes de la tribu de Kassénés de la Missions de Navrongo, Unpublished Ms., Navrongo, 1956 (The original copy of this is at the White Fathers archives in Rome); Les Puissances Occultes en Pays Kassene, Unpublished Ms., Navrongo, n.d. (This document is a carbon copy of the original and no accents are marked through out the entire text);
46. Gagnon, Moeurs et Coutumes, pp.189,190.
47. Der, "God and sacrifice in the traditional religions of the Kasena," pp.172-187.
48. Der, "Church-State relations in Northern Ghana," pp.41-61.
49. Kazaresam, The Kasena of Ghana.
50. J.Awia, *From Birth to Burial in an African Tribe*, 1976; *Threefold Encounter in Northern Ghana*; and *Navrongo and its Pioneers*.
51. A.Abasi, Bayaaro among the Kasena of Northeast Ghana, Katholieke Universiteit te Leuven, Scriptie aangeboden tot het verkrijgen van het Speciaal Diploma in de Sociale en Culturele Anthropologie (MA), 1989. A.Ayaga, "Suem" - The Naming Ceremony among the Kassena and the Christian Initiation of Baptism - A Comparative Study, Unpublished Ms, n.d.
52. J.Atadana, Kassena Funeral Rites, Unpublished Typescript, 1987.
53. During my stay in Ghana, a number of Kasena students requested my help in organising their "research" into widowhood rites and female excision.

54. K.Dittmer, Die Methoden des Wahrsagens im Obervolta-Gebeit und seine Beziehung zur JagerKultur, Baessler Archiv., N.F., Bd VI, Berlin, 1958, pp.1-60; J.Zwernemann, "Divination chez les Kasena en Haute-Volta," *Notes Africaines*, 1964, 102, pp.58-61.
55. Dittmer, *Die Sakralen Häuptlinge der Gurunsi*.
56. According to Awedoba, because the Chief compiled this material it "therefore represents his view of the history of his ancestors and the role of the chieftaincy in Chiana." (Awedoba, *Aspects of Wealth and Exchange*, p.34.) However, the Chief compiled this information with Chiana elders, who were photographed by Dittmer with the Chief (Abb. 39,40). It is therefore more than his personal view, but incorporates the perspective of the elders.
57. In 1952, the Chiana Chief began compiling a history of Chiana. He continued in 1965, with the assistance of Chiana elders. The Chief wrote the story and I.M.Ratcliff of Navrongo Secondary School (22nd July 1965) edited it. It was entitled "A complete History of the Chana People" and intended for the Middle School students of Chiana, but it was not published. The Chief gave me this material in 1988 and it is very similar to that given to Dittmer. Rüdiger Schott also mentions that he was given records by the Chianapio, entitled "A Review of the History and Social Organisation of Chiana", but they are not included in his article (R. Schott, "Sources for a history of the Bulsa in Northern Ghana," *Paideuma*, 1977,23, pp.141-168.)
58. At that stage I had not seen Dittmer's material. After locating a copy of his material in 1992, I found his material was almost identical to what the Chief gave me.
59. H.Haselberger, "Bemerkungen zum Kunsthandwerk in der Republik Haute Volta Gourounsi und Altvölker des äussersten Südwestens," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1969, 94(2), pp.171-246.
60. J.Zwernemann, "La Fondation de Pô - Essai d'Interpretation de Traditions Orales d'une ville Kasena," *Notes et Documents Voltaïques*, 1969, 2 (2), pp.3-15; "Zur Socialordnung der Kasena von Pô, (Obervolta)," *Tribus*, 1963, 12, pp.33-104; "Kasem Dialects in the Polyglotta Africana," *African Language Review*, 1967, 6, pp.130-152; "Gewitter und Regen im Glauben der Kasena (Burkina Faso)," *Paideuma*, 1989, 35, pp.315-324.
61. D.Liberski, "Note sur le Calendrier Kasena," *Systèmes de Pensée en Africaine Noire*, 1984, 7, pp.101-120, 192-193.
62. D. St.John Parsons, *Legends of Northern Ghana*, London, Longmans, 1958; *More Legends of Northern Ghana*, 1960; *Fables of Northern Ghana*, 1962.
63. *Yeno Chona*, Vols.1-6. Accra, Bureau of Ghana Languages, 1976.

64. S.P.Wedjong, *Kasena Sinseri* (Kasena Proverbial Sayings), Accra, Bureau of Ghana Languages, 1969; *Kasena Nabaara Le* (Kasena Traditional Songs), Accra, Bureau of Ghana Languages, 1969; *Kasena Lui de Lusei* (Kasena Funerals and Funeral Dirges), Accra, Bureau of Ghana Languages, 1970.
65. These are listed in the Kasem section of the Bibliography.
66. *Kasem Warem Tɔnɔ* (Kasem Prayer Book), Navrongo, Printed by Bishop Rudolph Akanlu, 1976. *We Kyoga Warem Tɔno*, Diocese of Navrongo-Bolgatanga, 1962.
67. *Wɛ Ni-Duure Tɔnɔ*, Tamale, Ghana: International Bible Society and Ghana Institute of Linguistics, Literacy and Bible Translation, 1988.
68. Koetting, Continuity and Change.
69. *Ibid*, p.276.
70. E.Decarbo, Artistry Among Kasem Speaking Peoples of Northern Ghana, Indiana University, Ph.D, 1977.
71. *Ibid*, p.52.
72. Awedoba, Aspects of Wealth and Exchange,
73. *Ibid*, p.11.
74. Koetting, Continuity and Change, p.276. He claims that the Kasena are not easily distinguishable from other northern groups in language, culture, and political and social institutions (p.14). Kasem is completely distinctive from all the neighbouring language groups and there are subtle distinctions in the other categories.
75. Awedoba, Aspects of Wealth and Exchange, p.33.
76. A.Howell, Profile of the Western Section: Chiana, Katiu, Kayoro and Nakong, Navrongo, Unpublished Typescript, 1982; Marriage Practices among the Kasena of Northern Ghana, Unpublished Typescript, 1987. The latter paper aimed to illustrate that Western Kasena marriages practices differed from Navrongo practices which were described in a paper presented by J.Apuri, Customary Dowry in Marriage Among the Kasena-Nankana of Navrongo in the Upper East Region of Ghana, A paper presented at a Seminar of the Law Reform Commission, Tamale, 8 May, 1987.
77. I had previously lived in the Kasena community of Chiana where I worked as missionary for three periods of time: June 1981 to December 1983, September 1984 to September 1988 and September 1989 to October 1990.
78. H.Fahim, "Field Research in a Nubian Village:the Experience of an Egyptian Anthropologist," in G.M.Foster, *et al.*, *Long-Term Field Research in Social Anthropology*, New York, Academic Press, 1979, p.263.

CHAPTER TWO

THE CONTEXT OF KASENA LIFE AND THOUGHT THEIR HISTORY AND ENVIRONMENT

1. Oral traditions of Chiana, Katiu, Kayoro and Nakong

Kasena stories of their origins begin with migration. These stories have not always been appreciated by those who recorded them. A. Cardinall dismissed them as unsatisfactory traditions which "lent themselves easily enough to convenient perversions of history in order to accommodate a present opportunity."¹ The majority, he argued, were stories of hunters explaining why people moved, and etymological derivations for town names. Meyer Fortes asserted that Tallensi myths of origin were merely "formulations of the contemporary scheme of political and ceremonial relationships."² He suggested that the Tallensi created stories for Europeans to justify chieftaincy claims.³ Rüdiger Schott found in Bulsa oral traditions that a village had differing and sometimes contradictory accounts, but he suggests that these reflect the segmentary social structure. Thus the oral traditions could "change according to the social and political processes of fission, fusion and migrations, etc."⁴ If however, we understand these traditions not only as "*statements* of the present about the past",⁵ but as "the means by which members use their understanding of the past to shape the present, it may become easier to understand what the past could have been."⁶

According to Awedoba, "Kasena-Nankana oral traditions ... give vital clues to past events."⁷ Schott also helpfully explains the reason for the tendency in African oral traditions to remember the recent past and the origin of a clan, but to forget or fore-shorten what happens in the middle.

Among the Bulsa, this ... is the consequence of a religious attitude, of an ethos which results from the idea that the living are, on the one hand, especially dependent on the most ancient ancestor, ... and, on the other hand, on the most recent ones who have died only a short while before and who, at sacrifices, will be remembered in prayer and receive their share of the food first.⁸

The religious attitude of the Kasena functions in a similar way to their Bulsa neighbours. Therefore oral stories provide important insight into what is of spiritual significance in the belief journey of those communicating the story and give us clues to past events.

(1) The Origins of Chiana, Saga and Katiu.⁹

The Chiana story tells of the migration of a chief's son from Nobéré (Burkina Faso). He failed in a chieftaincy contest and, fearing his brother would kill him, he escaped to the south. After losing his way, he finally discovered a blacksmith's family at a place called Sia (Figure 3).¹⁰ Nosi and his sons were hammering iron by their fire and as he could not respond to them in their language (Kasem), he imitated the sound of the metal being beaten "chana-na-na, chana-na-na" to illustrate what attracted him to the place. Therefore, they began calling him "Chana-na-na" (Chiana). Chiana stayed with them and he supplied Nosi and his family with meat, so Nosi gave Chiana his daughter to marry and land to build a house on.

The story then tells of the birth of Chiana's son, Wusiga and the reason Wusiga and his descendants forbid killing or eating the meat of the gorilla. Chiana had other children by a wife from Pô (Burkina Faso). After the deaths of Nosi and Chiana, Wusiga persuaded Nosi's sons to relocate their settlement to Chiana's farms at Goli as the land there was better to farm. Chiana's wife refused to move and so Wusiga sent her with her children back to Pô. Wusiga and Nosi's sons built a new settlement at Goli adjacent to the "Fetish Goli" (*tangwane*¹¹), a sacred site used for sacrifice. They called the area "Chiana" and made Wusiga the Headman.

As Wusiga had no wife to bear children he made a vow at the "Fetish Goli" and pledged that if the shrine would give him a wife and many children, then he would sacrifice his first-born to it.¹² He married two women, one being the daughter of Achulu, the ancestor of Chuchuliga (Bulsa community) and she bore Nanyanga. The other was from Sisinu and she delivered Zoo. A stranger from Gbedem (Bulsa

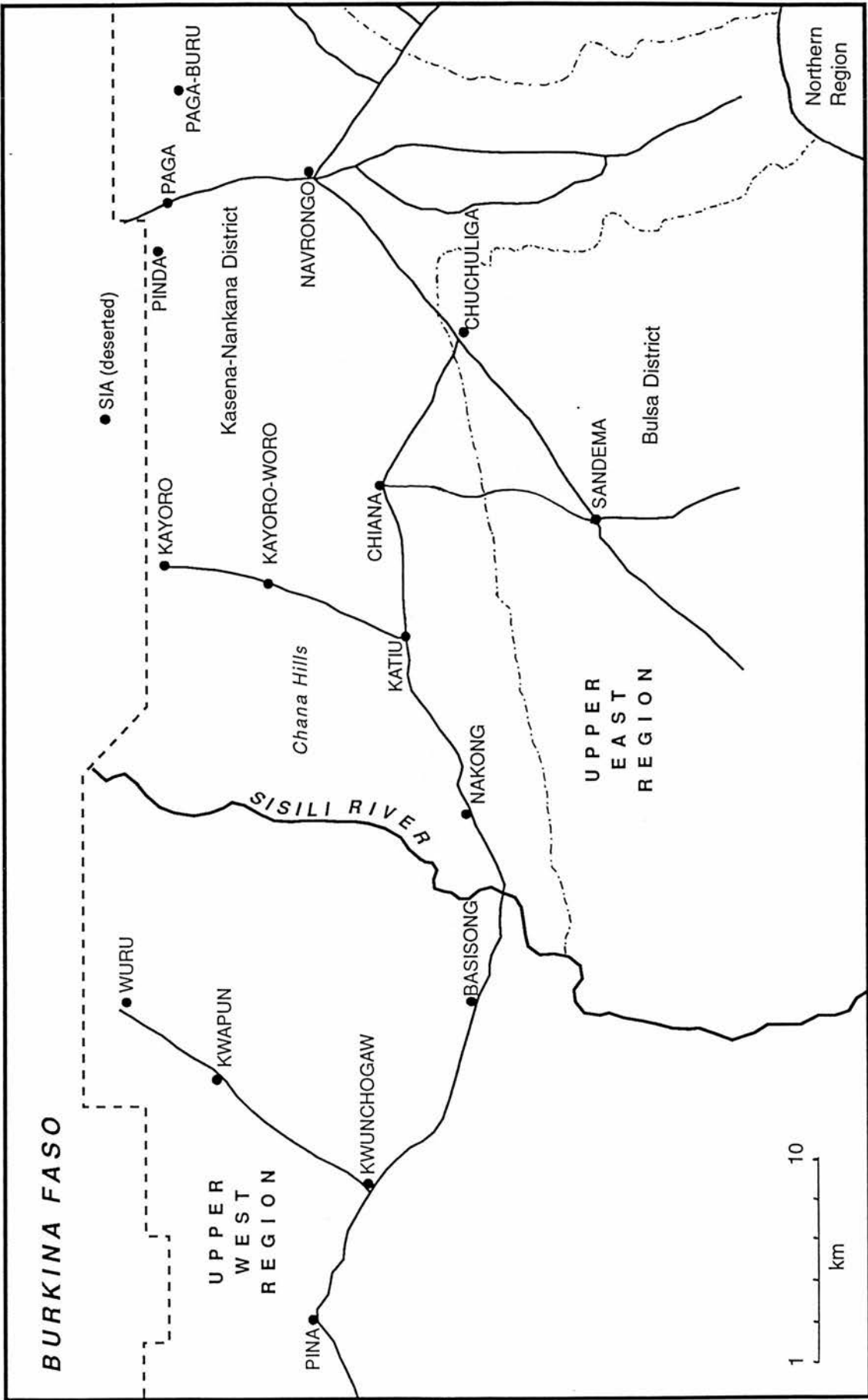


Figure 3. Kasena communities in the Upper East and West regions.

area) arrived at Goli with his wife and sister.¹³ Wusiga told him to live with them and called him Gweru (meaning 'leopard', as Gbedem does in Buli). In return Gweru gave his sister to Wusiga and he had three more children.

Wusiga did not fulfil his vow to the shrine at Goli and the matter worried him. He feared that the shrine might take revenge on himself and his family for not having kept his promise, so he moved with Nosi's descendants. After this Wusiga vowed that none of his descendants should ever see the "Fetish Goli". Wusiga and his family settled at Sigapanga while Nosi's descendants settled close by at Wirapio.¹⁴

Sandem (the ancestor of Sandema) gave his daughter to Wusiga in return for land that Wusiga gave Sandem to farm on. However, Nanyanga, Wusiga's eldest son, killed Sandem's wife when she and other women were returning home with the meat of a goat that had belonged to Nanyanga. He collected his meat and fled to his uncle's house at Chuchuliga.¹⁵ The result was that Sandem retaliated with his brothers, Kadem, Wiaga and Sinisi, invaded Wusiga's settlement and took away much property, including Sandem's daughter.

After Wusiga's death, one of Wusiga's sons, Zoo, was driven out to Sisinu by the other brothers as a result of a dispute over the sharing of meat that had been sacrificed. He stayed at Sisinu with Nosi's descendants and his descendants became the people of Katiu.¹⁶ The dispute with Sandem continued, and finally the brothers of Sandem drove Wusiga's community across the River Baponga to the place where Chiana clan-settlements now stand. The children of Nosi, became the people of Saa (Saga - Figure 4). Chiana recognise the Saga people as their "fathers" because their ancestors met them when they came, and so Saga are the *tega tiina* (land guardians).

A family of blacksmiths still practise their trade in Saga today and the elders acknowledge them to be the descendants of those whom the hunter from Nobéré met (Figure 5). However, they do not know the name "Nosi", but rather refer to their founders as "Nisaa", that is people who were in some way related to the Sisala west



Figure 4. Compounds in Saga-Katiu community.



Figure 5. The blacksmith's family in Saga.

of the Kasena. They argue that is why the area is called "Saa" now. The blacksmiths in Saga tell of their origin as hunters whose implements for blacksmithing fell from *wε*¹⁷ (the sky) because God saw people had no tools to help them get food. They learned from the *voro* (diviner) that the *naare* (hard round stone), was to be used for beating the hoes on and because *wε* sent it, a shrine had to be built for it. They then tell of the hunter who found them (Chiana). Saga is not only the *tega tu* (land guardian), but located in Saga is the *tangwam tu* (guardian of the earth shrine Zambao) and the *doa tu* (guardian of the rain shrine) for all Chiana and Katiu. Saga today is part of Katiu. Other families also migrated into Katiu from Paga.¹⁸

Wusiga's grandson, Basuu, was the first appointed Chiana chief. It was his son who first acquired the *kwara*, the sacred object of the Kasena chiefs.¹⁹ A hunter from Pinda introduced the *kwara* cult as a more effective means of settling disputes than through the *tangwana* (earth, land or tree divinities) and as a far more powerful symbol of judicial authority.²⁰ It did not replace the *tangwana*, but supplanted them. The Pinda people placed medicines from Pinda and soil from the two *tangwana* (earth shrine Zambao and river shrine Bolga) in a cow horn. Dittmer quotes the Chiana chief who described the *kwara* as the "symbol and essence of power"²¹ without which the chief is "nothing". It "can punish evil doers who refuse to abide with the taboos ... and helps to mediate in disputes, stop fighting, prevent slavery and is the authority to the judicial position in the community if there is none." Awedoba comments that the *kwara*'s "function as an institution for reconciliation and a source of refuge is consistent with its representation as a female symbol."²² Dittmer suggests that the *kwara* is not a "shrine" of a spiritual power, but the *kwara* itself is a power *sui generis*.²³ Every successive Chiana chief and chiefs in other Kasena communities receive the *kwara* at the time of enskinment. The present Chiana chief is the tenth chief since the founding of Chiana, although there was apparently a break between the 5th and 6th chiefs. The chieftaincy of Katiu was only created in 1926 when Katiu was became independent of Chiana. The present chief is their third chief.²⁴

(2) The origin of Kayoro²⁵

The word Kayoro is a derivation from *ka yalo* ("it's wide, large") as the ancestor of Kayoro wanted to live on a vast land, far from others.²⁶ The first residents of Kayoro were the ancestors of the Akaa clan-settlement. It is believed that they moved from the north near Pô in Burkina Faso. They were followed by the ancestor of the Kachela clan-settlement. Some say they do not know where Kachela's ancestor came from as he rose from the ground, others say he came from Burkina Faso. Akaa's ancestor gave Kachela's ancestor land to settle on. At that time the people of Akaa and Kachela suffered severely from slave raids and wars. One day a hunter came from Kwincha²⁷ and he met the ancestors of Kachela. This hunter, the ancestor of the Kaba section, provided meat for Kachela. Kachela people asked him to stay and help defend Kayoro from the slave raiders who were killing them. Kachela's ancestor gave his daughter to Kaba's ancestor and also gave him a place to settle. In appreciation for the food given to them, they gave the *kwara* to Kaba's ancestor. It is therefore Kachela clan-settlement which has the authority to enskin a new chief in Kayoro, and the chief always comes from the Kaba clan-settlement. Others then migrated from Nobéré in Burkina Faso (ancestors of the Akania clan-settlement). The Kaba ancestor gave them the tail of the *kwara* so Akania would recognize their own chief who was subservient to the Kayoro chief.

People migrated to the area of Kayoro-Woro from a number of places. The ancestor of Ngwombio migrated there initially, but his place of origin is uncertain.²⁸ Kaba gave part of the *kwara* to the Ngwombio chief to oversee the area. The Saboro clan-settlement are descendants of Ngwombio who separated from them after a dispute and moved north. Kumbulu's ancestor migrated from Songo (Burkina Faso) and Angwongo's from Kwincha. The present chief of Kayoro is the fifteenth chief since the founding of Kayoro.²⁹

(3) The story of Nakong³⁰

Nakong's ancestor, Namang, came from Chaparsi, Burkina Faso. He was a mother's brother to Wusiga, the founder of Chiana. He roamed to Sia and then to Sisinu. The name Nakong is derived from "Akwonwo", one of Namang's sons. When they came to this area, they met both Kayoro people and also Sandema people. Some of their descendants went to Basisong and Pudon (now deserted). The present Nakong chief was enskinned in 1917.

(4) Estimates of founding dates

Attempts have been made to estimate founding dates of the Kasena communities by using an average reign of 14 or 16 years for a chief.³¹ Awedoba suggests Navrongo was founded about 1740 and Zwernemann estimates that most Kasena areas were founded between 1745 and 1815. Using an average reign of 16 years for Chiana, from the death of the 9th Chiana chief, Ayagitam, in 1949, it means the chieftaincy began formally in Chiana around 1805. However, this was at least three generations after the arrival of Chiana, so it is possible that the hunter arrived in the 1750s. The founding of Kayoro would be approximately 1744, if we work back from the death of the 15th Chief, Tiyiamo, in 1984. These dates cannot be held definitively in the absence of written records on chiefs prior to the British Administration, but they do not seem unreasonable.

(5) Migration and acceptance of a new religious phenomenon

The first characteristic deduced from the oral traditions, including those of Paga, Navrongo and Pô,³² is the movement south of small groups of people. In each case, either a single group of people immigrated and met the autochthones, or different groups moved in successive waves to an area. There are no conclusive explanations about the reasons for these movements. Fortes suggests that social forces and ecological pressures caused the constant re-distribution of small groups in the Voltaic

region.³³ A.Mabogunje argues that "this southward movement was an involuntary act by smaller and weaker tribal groups in the face of incursions of stronger immigrant communities."³⁴

Although people came from diverse origins, the development of affinal ties or apparent familial linkages has brought a sense of unity and community to each area. This is illustrated in the Chiana clan-settlement of Nyangania whose ancestor took refuge in the Bulsa community of Chuchuliga. Nyangania remained under Chuchuliga until Ayagitam became chief. He negotiated in 1927 to have Nyangania brought under Chiana as they were Kasena and not Bulsa.³⁵

The second characteristic identified from the oral stories is the introduction of a new religio-political phenomenon.³⁶ The Pinda hunter told the Chiana people that their problem-solving mechanism was wrong. He introduced a new power, the *kwara*, because of its superior supernatural power to resolve disputes. The Chiana cultural auditorium was not closed to new ideas. When an inconsistency became evident, people responded to a new idea by accepting a new phenomenon. This resulted in social change as the chief gained additional powers over his people.³⁷

2. The early written records of the Kasena

The first written evidence of the Kasena are references to their language, Kasem.³⁸ This information also provides subtle insight to Kasena life. Between 1850 and 1852, S.W.Koelle interviewed informants in Sierra Leone, one of whom spoke "Kásm" and the other spoke "Yula".³⁹ Koelle gives this information about the "Kásm" speaker:

From Bagólōmo, or James Thomas, of York, born in the town of Kápu; was two months in travelling to the sea, and is now about twenty-two years old. He has been in Sierra Leone two and a-half years, and is the only individual speaking this language.⁴⁰

The Yula speaker, Laudman, came from an area close to "Bagbalan" and was also the only speaker of his language. Koelle writes,

His mother was a native of Yúla, and her sister came to take care of him when he was a little boy. From her he learned to speak Yúla before he went to his mother's country, which he has often done since about his fifteenth year, stopping there sometimes for a whole month.⁴¹

Zwernemann compared Koelle's vocabularies with the Kasem spoken in Kampala, Burkina Faso, the east Kasena region.⁴² He identifies Yula as West Kasem.⁴³ Zwernemann tentatively accepts that Bagolomo's birthplace of *Kapu* is the village of Kwapun in northern Ghana, but he expresses doubt because of the difference between the two names. However, Bagolomo stated that "Kásm is east of Kúndsoro, west of Gúrēsa".⁴⁴ The present day Kasena-fera community of Kwapun is located to the east of a place called "Kunsolo",⁴⁵ and to the east of Kwapun and all the Kasena area, are the Nankana/Frafra (Gurensi). It is therefore highly probable that Bagolomo came from Kwapun and that these men would have been able to understand each other's speech. Furthermore, we know a little of Bagolomo's ancestry. Men from "Kopun" told R.S. Rattray that their ancestor migrated south from a Fulani settlement and married a Kasena woman, but they emphatically stressed, "we have now become Kasena-Fera."⁴⁶

Some of Koelle's informants were traders or seamen who voluntarily settled in Freetown, but 179 of the 210 for which he supplied notes were ex-slaves.⁴⁷ Koelle does not indicate whether Bagolomo and Laudman were slaves, but whatever their status they had left family and homeland. Laudman moved frequently to and from his mother's home area and learned his mother's language from her sister, implying that the Kasena were not isolated from other groups. Koelle gives no indication that either man identified himself as "Grusi"⁴⁸, a term used to refer collectively to the acephalous groups in northern Ghana. There is no current evidence of any earlier writings which refer to the Kasena or "Gurunshi". Tauxier observes,

Les Gourounsi sont restés inconnus aux auteurs moyen-âge, depuis Masoudi et Ibn-Haukal jusqu'à Léon l'Africain (x^e au xvi^e siècle). ... Le *Tarikh-el-Fettach* et le *Tarikh-es-Soudan* (xvii^e siècle) n'ignorent pas le Gourma mais ignorent les Gourounsi. De même les voyageurs portugais, hollandais, français, du xv^e au xvii^e siècle ne disent mot de nos gens. On connaît le Mossi, mais non cette annexe insignifiante du Mossi composée de populations sauvages situées au sud de celui-ci.⁴⁹

In July 1888 Binger travelled from "Waghadougou" (Burkina Faso) to Salaga in Ghana. His route passed through the Kasena community of "Pahke" (Paga) in northern Ghana.⁵⁰ Binger does not mention Kasena, but he refers to the Youlsi or Tiole and gives "Tiansi" as an alternative to "Boulsi".⁵¹ His reference to "Tiansi" however, was a term that was used for the western Kasena-Nankana area which incorporated Chiana and borders on the northern edge of the Bulsa area.

When George Ekem Ferguson was sent north by the Gold Coast Government in 1892, he did not pass through the Kasena area, but he listed "Kiansi"⁵² in his report. In 1894 he referred to the "Grunshi sub-tribes" as "Talensi, Kpau, Tiansi or Bulsi, Nakaransi, Isale or Narguma, Achilon, Kanjaga, Yulsa or Kiole, Nunuma, Lama and Nohkodosi."⁵³ At this early stage people confused names of communities with more corporate names for language areas.

Tauxier specifically identified the Kasena as a group in his linguistic classification of the Grusi. He indicates that they formed a powerful population and that the large village of Pô was their principal centre, but they were also in the "Navarro" district.⁵⁴ He distinguished the "Kassouna-Fra", "Kassouna-Boura" and then the "Kiansi" or "Kyansi". He claimed the "Boulsi" were part of Kiansi, were perhaps the inhabitants of an important village and were sold as slaves by Zabarma.⁵⁵

The early writers perceived uniformity in the Grusi, but acknowledged diversity and so tried to find the appropriate labels for people and ways of describing the differences. The appropriateness of the use of the term "Grunsi" has been debated by Nicholas and Zwernemann.⁵⁶ Ferguson notes "the name Grunshi is associated with an undertone of contempt."⁵⁷ J.O'Kineally indicated it was the Moshi, Dagomba and others who referred to the area as "the Grunshi country", whereas the people themselves divided their district into "Kanjarga, Kassena and Fra-Fra."⁵⁸ The Kasena included "Navarro, Paga, Peyada, Kaiyoro, Tiana and Nakon: also Po in French Territory."⁵⁹ Therefore, to the large Kingdoms north and south of the Kasena and other groups, they were known as the "Grusi". Interaction with them began long

before early records were written because trade routes passed through the Kasena area and they were the source of slaves.

3. The impact of Slave Raiding on the Kasena auditorium

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries Mossi traders passed from Ouagadougou to the Dagomba and Gonja areas of Ghana. Binger described the "Gourounsi" as plunderers, causing merchants frequently to change routes.⁶⁰ However, their plundering may have had some justification, for he also refers to them as "le vivier du Mossi",⁶¹ and points out that the Mossi never annexed them, because if they had done so, they could not have continued raiding them. Kwame Arhin indicated that the goods traded by Mossi included "basic savannah produce and craft products ... imports from the Middle Niger ... and Grusi-speaking slaves."⁶² Buipe and later Salaga developed extensive trade with the north. According to Paul Ladouceur, this trade was of little benefit to non-Muslim northerners, who "appeared in the South only in the inferior capacity of slaves."⁶³

Awedoba suggests that slave raiding may have occurred in the Upper East Region before the 18th century.⁶⁴ When T.Bowdich visited Kumasi in 1817, he recorded that the Dagomba capital and each large town had to send annual tribute to Kumasi of 500 slaves as well as other goods.⁶⁵ These they acquired by raiding weaker non-centralized northern groups. J.Goody therefore argues that the northern groups formed a buffer between the Mossi states and the southern Kingdoms, and each side could raid without impinging on each other's sovereignty. Consequently, these northern groups "formed regions of free enterprise for bands of state-controlled warriors, whose prize lay in people rather than property (of this there was little except food), who were then sold or used as slaves."⁶⁶ The northern groups did resist strongly and when defeated, had a capacity to evaporate into hilly inaccessible areas for refuge.⁶⁷ However, their bows and arrows were not an adequate defence against firearms and horses. This then may possibly explain the presence of Kasem and Yula speakers in Sierra Leone in 1852.

The major impact of slave raiding on the Kasena was from the Zabarma who came to assist the Dagomba capture slaves so as to fulfil the tribute paid to Ashanti.⁶⁸ As Binger passed through the country north of Paga, he remarked that "Cette région, avant l'expédition de Gandiari semble avoir été très peuplée".⁶⁹ He found villages nearly deserted and estimated they had been ravaged for 6 years by the troops of "Gandiari" and those who succeeded them.⁷⁰ There is uncertainty about the dates when Zabarma raids began, but it was probably between 1856 and 1860.⁷¹ They initially raided the Kasena area from Dolbizan, a Sisala village, before attacking Kwapun and killing the chief. The raids on the Kasena intensified after Alfa Gazare became their leader in the 1870s.⁷²

Gazare based himself at Kasana, a Kasena community near the Sisala town of Tumu. He raided east across the Kasena-Fera and defeated Kayoro. Holden comments that the people of Kayoro had already defeated an unidentified Al Hajj army.⁷³ There is evidence of Kayoro inflicting a defeat on slave raiders. In 1992 I asked the old chief of Akania, Kayoro, who has the ritual rites for the powerful *tangwane* (river shrine), Kukula, why Kukula was so powerful.⁷⁴ He related how the slave raids were about to destroy Kayoro, but the chiefs of Akania and Kayoro made a vow on Kukula. As a result of the vow, the river "caught" and defeated the slave raiders while they tried to cross to the Fero side. Therefore, the present day power of Kukula has its roots in the belief that Kukula played a salvific role for them from slavery. This is reflected in a song which the old men in Kayoro still know today (Appendix 1.)

After Gazare's death in the 1880s, Babatu succeeded him.⁷⁵ The Dagomba tried to assist the Sisala and Kasena communities around 1887, using Basisong as a base but were defeated. Babatu then launched an intensive attack on the Kasena-Nankana and central Bulsa areas. Holden points out

These were heavily pagan areas and in almost all cases there seems to have been no preliminary overtures made by the Zabarimas, which was a departure from their usual practice, and the towns were quickly taken and the chiefs killed.⁷⁶

However, there is evidence that Chiana and Nakong sometimes inflicted defeat on the Zabarma, who attacked them numerous times.⁷⁷ Katiu was at that time a part of Chiana and Katiu's elders tell stories of driving the slave raiders away, but they give the credit for this to *Zambao*, the main *tangwane* which is a part of a series of hills north of Chiana and Katiu. As with Kukula, the leaders took an oath on *Zambao*. People also took refuge in the hills. One man stated "Our head is *Zambao*, he is our father. It is *Zambao* who helped us with strength and we conquered the people." The Boundary Commission General Report states:

Tiana was one of the towns that made a successful resistance to Barbatu, all the surrounding towns having gone to them for refuge, and on the strength of the reputation it had then gained had reduced all the surrounding towns to a state of subserviency to them, to the extent of paying tribute in cattle and sheep, and sending large parties to work in the fields for them.⁷⁸

Awedoba suggests the reports were exaggerated because Chiana raided other groups which resulted in it being attacked by the British in 1900.⁷⁹ It is difficult now to assess to what extent exaggeration occurred, but it is certain that the story of the defeat of the slave raiders re-inforced the power of the *tangwane*, *Zambao*.

Kasena-Fera who had been recruited by the Zabarma, carried out some of the raiding in the Kasena-Nankana area. About 1893 Kasena-Fera troops rebelled, after they heard rumours that Babatu was going to sell some of their women.⁸⁰ In 1897 Lt. Henderson ordered Babatu out of the "Gurunsi" areas. Slave raiding was supposedly stamped out by 1902, but slave dealing continued.⁸¹ Women and especially children who strayed outside villages were vulnerable. Lt.Col. Morris claimed the children were often sold to a woman without a child.⁸²

The impact of slave raiding ruptured every area of Kasena life: families were torn apart, hunger and death were rampant. In 1898, Lt.Col. Northcott noted that the natural resources of all the groups had been exhausted by both slave raiding and heavy exactions by the French with the result that the harvest would hardly even meet consumption needs for the following year.⁸³ Slave raiding devastated the Kasena-Fera in particular.⁸⁴ Some of their elders reported to Rattray that not only did many people

die, but they were unable to perform the funeral rites which traditionally are separate from burial rites and are performed in a dry season when sufficient food is available. This implies critical food shortage because large amounts of food are needed for funeral performances. When one of their ancestors did hold funerals for the dead, he could not remember all the names of the dead. The "spirits"⁸⁵ of those forgotten "became angry" and so the Kasena-Fera abandoned the second funeral performance to avoid further displeasure. Not only were communities destroyed, but some Fera began raiding others as this was perhaps the only way they could survive. However, this has created animosity with the Kasena and Nankana, some of whom today still refer to the Fera contemptuously because of their participation in the raids.

Although the Zabarma activity was not centred in western Kasena-Nankana and raids were sporadic, nevertheless deep effects have been felt, especially on Kayoro and Nakong. In Nakong, the elders still speak of the way their population was decimated. Formerly there were extensive houses to the south-west of Kayoro, but villages were destroyed and are now deserted. This statement is supported by a report in 1940 which remarks that in Nakong

there are many ruins of compounds whose owners have I understood (sic) been killed off in past years by epidemics; also places like Nakon, Vare and Bechaunsi seem to have suffered severely from raids in times past from Babatu and Bazaberrimi hordes.⁸⁶

The impact on agriculture was immediate. When raids were made on Kayoro, people hid and their crops were burned, thus threatening their survival.⁸⁷ It also resulted in instability. The Akaa clan-settlement frequently moved about for protection. A.Watherston also suggested that slave raiders destroyed corporate political life resulting in the existence of small independent communities.⁸⁸ To what extent corporate political life had existed among the Kasena is uncertain, but there is no doubt that family life was broken up by the capture of family members.

Slave raiding also affected peoples' attitudes to trade. Trade routes from Pô to Yagaba passed through both Chiana and Kayoro, but the people did not trade greatly outside their areas because of their former memories of "bad times with

MOSHIS and MAMPRUSSI."⁸⁹ Finally, the slave raids have had a lasting impact in the spiritual realm, especially amongst the elders in the communities of Kayoro and Katiu, for the salvific and destructive powers of two major *tangwana* are today associated with victory. There is no evidence of extensive conversion to Islam among the Kasena except among the Kasena-Fera close to the Sisala area.

4. The arrival of the British and French rule in the north

(1) Early expeditions and views

On his trip north in 1894, George Ferguson attempted to negotiate treaties with all the ethnic groups. He described the "Grunshi" as one of the "Barbarous tribes" who "live mostly in family communities, and resist intercourse, even among their own selves, with showers of arrows."⁹⁰ He concluded that no group had the capacity to negotiate with a European Power, and he recommended they be "civilised by force of arms."⁹¹ Another tour of "Gurunshi" subdistricts in 1899 reinforced the perspective that the area was occupied by small independent groups, often antagonistic to each other.⁹² Lt.Col. H.P.Northcott suggested "a strong column" be used "to improve our rule on some of the turbulent tribes in the west of the Frafra sub-districts."⁹³ The use of force became characteristic of the early British contact with the Kasena.

Old men in Katiu (Chiana) vividly relate the story of the first entry of "whites" with their horses and gun to Chiana. One elder stated

When the white man came he passed through Kayoro and came to the house of the Saga *nakwia tu* (headman). We [their father's] said, 'we even beat Gazare, how much more this fish.' ... The white shot with a gun 'BEGOOU' [noise of gunshot] and killed many with the gun ... So the people kneeled down with white hens and eggs and went and begged the white man.⁹⁴

The accuracy of this story is confirmed in the Boundary Commission Report which tells of the decision to punish Chiana for raiding other communities and opposing the progress of the commission.

The town was visited on the 12th June [1900] (the column having reached Kaioro (sic) on the previous evening). The reception being of a very hostile nature, a large compound of men, armed with the bow and the poisoned arrows, was at once attacked, taken, and destroyed, and the column moved at once to the chiefs (sic) compound, which by that time had been deserted. The chief came in as soon as he saw his compound being destroyed, and he was shortly afterwards followed by all the principal sub-chiefs.⁹⁵

The officials fined the chief "30 oxen and 60 sheep" which the chief took to Kayoro the following day.

"Sinlieh" (Sandema) and "Navarro" (Navrongo) were also identified as "extremely hostile".⁹⁶ Navrongo, opposed to British rule, attacked Chuchuliga and looted 120 cattle, when the chief sent a gift to Gambaga.⁹⁷ This resulted in a large punitive expedition to Navrongo in March 1902 which destroyed compounds, confiscated food and killed some inhabitants.⁹⁸ The expedition stayed at Paga where the "Tiana" chief visited them. After escorting Morris to "Tiana", the "Tiana" people told Morris that "the people of Sinlieh were most hostile and owing to their having defeated Barbatu on two occasions had a vast idea of their own power and importance."⁹⁹ Sandema received similar treatment to that given to Navrongo. Morris reasoned that this was necessary to bring them into submission, as the lack of centralised government made it difficult to administer the districts properly.¹⁰⁰ Even more significantly, the 1902 *Northern Territories Annual Report* described the expedition as a success, because caravans could now move through all the Districts without being attacked.¹⁰¹ This fulfilled the aim of the British government to bring trade through the Northern Territories and "to see every precaution taken to force that trade into the English market."¹⁰² Watherston stated that this was the necessary remuneration "for all the trouble and money spent in opening"¹⁰³ up the country.

It is not surprising therefore, that the Chief Commissioner sent a similar expedition to Nakong in 1905, when he heard reports that its headman had refused to obey orders to appear at Gambaga and answer charges for blocking roads, murder and looting.¹⁰⁴ The soldiers caught the Chief and "Fetish Priest", who refused to hand over

those accused of murder and looting. They then burned compounds and confiscated animals.¹⁰⁵ Watherston admitted these expeditions caused extensive harm and criticised the burning of towns. People ran away and no one could explain to them why the expedition had come which defeated the purpose of the expedition.¹⁰⁶

(2) Establishment of Navrongo

The 1902 expedition report states:

The three Kingdoms of Nafrongo, Tiana, and Sinlieh are by far the most important of any that I have seen in these Territories: they each extend over about twenty square miles of country with compounds every two or three hundred yards and are densely populated.¹⁰⁷

There is no indication that Navrongo was larger then, or had power over the other two communities. However, in October 1905, Colonial officers selected Navrongo as the site for a post.¹⁰⁸ R.A. Irvine proposed that the post be established in order to increase revenue from taxes on caravans, since many caravans halted at Navrongo for water.¹⁰⁹ He also argued that making roads would open up densely populated districts and this contact would help "natives" to realise that the Government actually did have their welfare at heart. He recommended that there be no taxation, but rather that "free labour" be used for making roads and carrying grass.¹¹⁰ Bening also points out Navrongo was chosen for its central location and because the Chief appeared to have power over his people.¹¹¹ The Government's insistence in 1906, that the White Fathers' Mission be located in Navrongo and that they open a school there further determined the future of Navrongo.¹¹²

(3) The changing role of chiefs

The lack of a central form of government among the Kasena, and the dispersed nature of the compounds frustrated the early British administrators.¹¹³ They aimed to organise people into the divisions they believed existed prior to slave raiding days, so that people would be placed under paramount chiefs as they had been before that disruption.¹¹⁴ This belief in the prior existence of paramount chiefs led to

misunderstanding of the existing structure. J.O'Kineally attempted to learn about the chief's power and describe the chieftaincy succession. He pointed out the religious nature of Chief's authority and was the first to write about the "Kwarra".

The people always obeyed the chief's decision through fear of his fetish; the chief is a fetish man and if the people refuse to obey him, he would talk to the fetish and it would kill the people who would not obey him.¹¹⁵

He perceived that the chief did have power which was vested in him through the spiritual/religious nature of the office. However, the nature of this power was not one of authoritarian command. Kineally went on to state:

Their people would build their compounds for them and, in the season, the chief would send to 'beg' his headmen to come and help him with his farm, which they would do. The people never gave him presents, except on the occasions he acted as judge and, beyond that, he seems to have never interfered with the people or to have made demands of any kind on them. 'The chiefs never gave 'strong' (unpleasant) orders to the people.'¹¹⁶

Today, chiefs and headmen still 'beg' for people to come and farm for them.

O'Kineally's report describing the nature of the chief's power and his awareness of the difference between that power and the British expectations of authority, was either unnoticed or ignored, for the 1907 *NT Annual Report* grossly misrepresents the chiefs. It attributed blame for the difficulty of administering through the "natives" on the "absolute imbecility of 60 per cent of the present elected chiefs."¹¹⁷ It suggested they had no power and were selected on the basis of their inability to make people obey them.

Partial blindness, paralysis, and often idiocy appear to have been the qualifications in many parts of the country, the only *sine qua non* being that the chief should have plenty of cattle, as on him falls the privilege of paying any fines the Commissioner might impose on the town.¹¹⁸

Awedoba points out that blindness would have disqualified a person from the chiefly office.¹¹⁹ Some administrative officers showed sensitivity in trying to understand the cultural process of decision-making and allowed time for communication to take place. Captain Nash advised his replacement always to spend several days when visiting large towns and to insist on seeing all headmen, as "a hurried visit does more harm

than good."¹²⁰ However, the style of leadership continued to cause frustration.

These people do not now and never did understand what we call an 'order'. 'Give and take' is more their custom. 'If you do this for me I will do something for you also' appeals to the native much more than 'If you don't do this I will punish you'. This applies especially to the authority of Chiefs.¹²¹

The administrators blamed the difficulty Kasena chiefs had to rule authoritatively and the refusal of people to submit to them on the complete intertwining of their civil and private law with their religion. They admitted that this gave them a limited amount of influence, but they regarded a more authoritative attitude as necessary to accomplish British goals. O'Kineally observed however, that the reason why people disobeyed chiefs' orders from white men unless a soldier came to give the order, was because they believed the white men would soon leave.¹²²

The nature of chieftaincy further shifted from a religious to a political position in 1911 when the Government made the Navrongo chief paramount over all the Kasena and gave him greater judicial powers.¹²³ The Kasena disliked the rule of the chiefs, and the Administration blamed this on the behaviour of some chiefs.¹²⁴ This occurred in Chiana where the British proclaimed Azosere to be chief. He had constant trouble gaining obedience from his headmen.¹²⁵ The Administration reported that he was irresponsible and excitable, but he had power and carried out their orders.¹²⁶ He was, however, unable to control his sons and close relatives, misused his authority and maltreated his subordinates, for which he was fined.¹²⁷ In 1913, the Navrongo District Record declares that Azosere is an "impostor" and follower of the slave raider, Bagao, who had deposed the proper chief, Kayarawe.¹²⁸ He was removed from office. Older Kasena men had particular difficulty accepting the authority of young chiefs. The Administration perceived these old men as blocking the youth from having contact with civilisation and as undermining the power of the chiefs.¹²⁹

In 1912 the Chief Commissioner declared the Nayiri of Mamprusi to be paramount Chief of all Kasena.¹³⁰ The Colonial authorities never consulted the Kasena about this matter nor did they bother to enquire why the Mamprusi chief was not

warmly welcomed when he came to Navrongo in 1913. Only in 1932 did the British fully realise that the Kasena denied ever having been ruled by the Mamprusi Na.¹³¹ The Administration finally acknowledged that: the Kasena had never been traditionally ruled by a paramount chief; they formed independent settlements with each compound head responsible for his own compound and not that of others; and Chiana had a lengthy history of chiefs who had not been subservient to another chief.¹³² The chief's position in his clan-settlement was more of a religious nature with his authority centred around the *kwara*. This was the case for all the Kasena chieftaincies, and it was not their will for one chief to be made paramount over them all.¹³³ The Administration also admitted that they had directly influenced the election of chiefs and had held a contemptuous attitude towards them.¹³⁴

In 1932 the Government created a confederacy of Kasena-Nankana chiefs consisting of ten equally ranked chiefs, with the President being elected on an annual basis.¹³⁵ It was not until 1940 that the Kasena and Bulsa Districts were finally granted independence from the Mamprusi District.¹³⁶ The Confederacy gave greater confidence to chiefs, including the Nakong chief who did not impress the authorities before he joined the Confederacy. He became "quite a power in the Council, full of suggestions and ideas which he is not afraid to express, and a great help to everyone concerned."¹³⁷ The creation of the Kasena-Nankani Native Authority led to the growth of a more corporate identity. The DC Capt. L. Mothersill claimed that forty years previously Kasena-Nankana had not had a corporate identity.¹³⁸ However, Awedoba claims that a loose Kasena-Nankana consciousness existed prior to colonial times when they acted corporately to oppose the slave raiders.¹³⁹ But he also points out that as a group they were not closely knit, illustrated by the frequency with which they raided each other. Koelle's informant, Bagalomo, identified his language as Kasem, so there was definitely a Kasena identity. However, a Kasena-Nankana consciousness is probably more characteristic of Navrongo than of the communities to the west of them who regard themselves as "pure Kasena".

(4) Impact of the British presence among the Kasena

The most immediate impact of British presence among the Kasena was the measure of stability brought about between and within communities. Prior to the arrival of the British, there were often disputes between groups. Chiana and Chuchuliga frequently bickered and fought,¹⁴⁰ but these encounters lessened after the arrival of the British and old men today acknowledge that the area became more peaceful. This peace however, was more for the advantage of the traders, of whom 89,000, reported at Navrongo in 1917 alone en route south.¹⁴¹

A second result of the British presence, was the development of Navrongo as a community at the expense of the other Kasena communities. In the first six years, colonial officials rarely visited the communities west of Navrongo and they reported that people were "still extremely shy and suspicious."¹⁴² They only visited these areas to recruit labour. If communities did not comply with requests for labour, punishment was harsh. In 1908, people in Chiana ran away when called upon for labour. As a result, the DC made 140 men carry loads under escort to Kumasi.¹⁴³ Colonial officials forced people to provide free labour for building rest houses and government quarters, carrying materials and making roads. In November 1907 the hospital in Navrongo was begun.¹⁴⁴ Old men today in western Kasena-Nankana still vividly recall being forced to carry wood and grass to Navrongo, the women carrying gravel and beating roads. Most of the building work was concentrated in Navrongo, except for rest houses in Chiana and Nakong in 1909.¹⁴⁵ In 1921, every Chiana section had to provide 25 men to work at Navrongo.¹⁴⁶ An elderly Katiu man told me "It is our suffering that is there [at Navrongo]." The administration claimed that people preferred free labour to any sort of tax.¹⁴⁷ Nevertheless, the result was that people migrated from one area to another to escape being called for labour.¹⁴⁸

The only other activities reflecting development in the western Kasena area in the early years of British Administration were the making of roads and visits by Government Veterinary Officers to vaccinate cattle in Chiana and Katiu.¹⁴⁹ Early

administrators were impressed by the size of Kayoro which extended at least 5 miles in the directions of Nakong and Navrongo. They also observed that significant quantities of iron were smelted, especially in the Saboro clan-settlement where large refuse dumps from the furnaces were a distinctive feature of the landscape.¹⁵⁰ By 1934, however, the iron smelting industry was dying out. The reason for this is not given, but one suspects that the amount of free labour which the community was required to give for road building and carrying timber to Navrongo and Chiana contributed to this because, to encourage the growth of iron smelting, the District Commissioner "ordered that Kayoro shall only be called out once a year for road work to repair their section at the end of the rains."¹⁵¹

Nakong also was affected by the decision to make Navrongo the centre. In 1905, acting Chief Commissioner R. Irvine described Nakong as "a very large town consisting of several hundred compounds scattered over an area of several square miles".¹⁵² People held a market there every three days and a caravan road also passed through Nakong, from Pô and Kayoro, but the British closed the road and forced all caravans to pass through Navrongo. By 1934, this market ceased to exist, but a small market had re-opened by 1940.¹⁵³

Four schools were established in Navrongo and children from the western section boarded there. In 1932 a new hospital opened at Navrongo.¹⁵⁴ Development only began to occur in western Kasena-Nankana after the Kasena-Nankani Traditional Authority was established. Wells were completed in Chiana, Katiu and Nakong.¹⁵⁵ Village Overseers were then trained to ensure that every compound constructed a pit latrine and to supervise sanitation in the communities.¹⁵⁶ Only in 1938 did the first dispensary open at Katiu; 4,000 people from a wide catchment area were treated that year.¹⁵⁷ A school opened in Chiana in July 1940 with 40 children including 3 girls, and staffed by a Kasena headmaster.¹⁵⁸ Other schools opened in 1954 in Kayoro and the following year in Katiu.¹⁵⁹

The free labour used to build rest houses and roads did little to benefit people



economically through farming or other enterprises. The abolition of Caravan Tax in 1908 led to a decrease in revenue for the Northern Territories.¹⁶⁰ The Colonial Government approved direct taxation in 1935, but as it was imposed on a largely non-monetary economy, it contributed to people moving south to earn the money.¹⁶¹

Lt.Col. H.P. Northcott planned a separate administration for the Northern Territories, but the Governor abandoned these plans after Northcott's death in 1899. The Northern Territories were then subsumed as a region under the Gold Coast. R.Bening argues that the policies applied resulted in the backwardness of northern Ghana today.¹⁶² From 1902 until 1930 there were few changes in legislation which improved people's lives in the Northern Territories. The first visit of an agricultural officer only occurred in 1930.¹⁶³ In 1928, when ideas were put forward to formulate definitive administrative policy, several senior officers of the Protectorate ridiculed them.¹⁶⁴ This reflected the Government's early attitude towards the people of the Northern Territories.

They were regarded as an amiable but backward people, useful as soldiers, policemen and labourers in the mines and cocoa farms; in short fit only to be hewers of wood and drawers of water for their brothers in the Colony and Ashanti.¹⁶⁵

It was this attitude that set in motion a pattern of cyclical, semi-permanent and permanent migration which has had a lasting effect on Kasena family life. Not only did it bring about separation of family members, but migration exposed people to new beliefs and differing ways of thinking.

5. Migration: the factors and impact

(1) "Civilising" the Kasena and labour recruitment

When Lt.Col. Morris toured the north in 1899, he recruited "Grunshis" for the battalion.¹⁶⁶ The area was seen as a valuable source for the Regiment and another 57 men were recruited in 1901.¹⁶⁷ After soldiers established a military post at Navrongo, they sent carriers south to bring back their supplies. The Colonel perceived this as a

necessary part of the civilising process, for the White Fathers reported,

Le Colonel désire en effet faire sortir de leur trou nos braves gourounsi, afin de les désauvager un peu par la vue d'autres peuplades civilisées davantage qu'eux. C'est un argument qui a sa valeur, mais qui n'est pas très goûté des intéressés.¹⁶⁸

The same reasoning resulted in a party of 88 chiefs, including the Chiana chief and 1,000 followers, walking to Kumasi in 1908 with about 316 cattle to attend the Agricultural Show.¹⁶⁹

As early as 1906, the Chief Commissioner asked Chiana and Navrongo to provide labourers for the Gold mines at Tarkwa.¹⁷⁰ A European official took a group of young men to see mining districts as a means of persuading them to go south, but with little success.¹⁷¹ Later many recruits ran away.¹⁷² Those who did go south often returned north in poor condition; starving, and some with small-pox. The White Fathers record the experience of two Christians who worked in the mines.

Nos deux voyageurs, Patrice et Cyrille, sont venus mettre ordre à leurs affaires de conscience. L'expérience semble les avoirs assagis, et ils jurent bien qu'on ne les reprendra plus à aller pâtre de faim et de misère dans les mines d'or. Ils ne semblent pas beaucoup plus riches qu'avant leur départ. Si cela pouvait donner à réfléchir à tant d'autres que l'idée de Coumassie travaille fortement.¹⁷³

Watherston expressed concern that these experiences would now hinder the process of persuading people to go south to earn money, which could enable a hut or poll tax to be introduced in the north.¹⁷⁴ Colonial officials acknowledged the prosperity this labour brought to the southern colonies,¹⁷⁵ but they justified it as a means of bringing a "more enlightened outlook than could be acquired by a lifelong residence within the restricted limits of a small District".¹⁷⁶ Recruitment continued in spite of protests from chiefs who felt they were left with few to farm their land.

A District Officer held a meeting at Chuchuliga in May 1917 to recruit soldiers for the war. The Chiana chief offered 50 recruits and Nakong promised 24.¹⁷⁷ By July, the northern groups had not fulfilled their promises and the White Fathers noted that C.H.Armitage instructed officers to use more or less force to make the recruits come as promised.¹⁷⁸ When all towns were "taxed for recruits" Chiana provided 20

men and Kayoro 10.¹⁷⁹ Administrators denied the use of force in this recruiting, and reported that the Northern Territories had provided "by voluntary enlistment, ninety per centum of the rank and file of the regiment which bears this Colony's name."¹⁸⁰ Moreover most of those recruited in Ashanti were "actually natives from the Northern Territories who were paid by Ashanti chiefs sums ranging from £5 to £25 to induce them to join the Gold Coast regiment in their (the Chief's) names."¹⁸¹

Recruiting labour for mines and the railways continued through the 1920s but many died in the mines and others deserted and returned home.¹⁸² The Navrongo chief complained that his people accused him of sending men "down to their deaths"¹⁸³ and they would only come if forced by Government. However, R.Thomas did not argue that the poor conditions in the mines contributed to a high death rate, but that some chiefs because of being compelled, sent their weaker men to avoid agricultural productivity being undermined.¹⁸⁴ The Colonial authorities abandoned recruitment in 1927 and subsequently acknowledged that the policy of forced labour and little money given for expenditure in Navrongo had blocked any economic progress and "no/opportunity (sic) was put in the way of the people of increasing their wealth and purchasing power."¹⁸⁵ Fortes also writes, "The labour they supply to richer parts of the Gold Coast contributes very little return by way of foodstuffs to the home community."¹⁸⁶

During the Second World War each of the towns supplied recruits.¹⁸⁷ The Katiu chief at that time claimed that all his recruits had freely volunteered, but some old soldiers in the area today dispute this. The DC stated, "the Kassena and particularly those from Chiana and Ketiu were the finest specimens of all our recruits."¹⁸⁸ Kasena migrated not only because of British policies of recruitment for the military, the mines and other work in the south, but because of French colonial policies which resulted in Kasena and other groups moving to the south of Ghana.

(2) Poll Tax and migration

As with the British authorities, the French colonies had to raise revenue. They implemented a poll tax in Upper Volta (now Burkina Faso) to induce a cash economy. In 1909, Capt. Warden received reports of people crossing from the French Territory to avoid the poll tax.¹⁸⁹ Enforcement of conscription laws contributed to another movement from French Territory in 1913.¹⁹⁰ The exodus across the border because of poll tax increased and in the 1920s led to congestion in the border areas with many migrants existing in a half-starved condition. Farming disputes arose in places such as Paga and Mayoro.¹⁹¹ Between 1919 and 1928 approximately 837 men, plus wives and children, moved to Navrongo District creating 274 new compounds, 47 of them in Kayoro.¹⁹² These numbers are only estimates, as people settled in areas which were difficult to reach and the scale of migration fluctuated. The effects of the French poll tax continued into the 1930s. District officials noted that 31 migrants from Pô settled at Kayoro in 1934.¹⁹³

As early as 1924, the government proposed to encourage people to move south towards Tamale. They offered each volunteer £10, 1,000 yam seeds and 2 years exemption from communal labour.¹⁹⁴ After a geological survey in 1929 of areas from Pwalugu to Walewale, the government directed people towards that area.¹⁹⁵ This Kasena movement towards Walewale, particularly of those from French Territory, had implications for conversion to the Christian faith. One migrant, Yangyang Alira, left Kaya with his family because of their suffering. His son, Thomas Pewotigi explained: "It was because of the government tax that they left there. If they contributed that food, they would not have had sufficient food to eat for the year. That was the suffering for them. ... They were shamed so they thought they would go to Dagomba."¹⁹⁶

(3) Voluntary migration to work in the south.

The British recruitment of labour for the south and the creation of a cash

economy both stimulated voluntary migration. In 1911, people from Navrongo area left for Kumasi to find work because of "demand for money".¹⁹⁷ Initially it did not appear to be a permanent migration; people returned within a few years. The White Fathers' diaries record numerous entries between 1913 and 1920 of Christians travelling to the south and their return. After several Christians left for Kumasi, the Fathers wrote,

Ils vont là chercher du travail. Mais tout bien pesé, c'est plutôt l'envie de voir du pays qui les a poussés à partir, car la plupart de ceux qui partent ne sont venus travailler à la construction de notre église, bien qu'en somme ils eussent gagné autant d'argent ici qu'ils engageront à Koomasi. C'est un fait aussi que tous ceux qui reviennent ne sont pas plus riches que ceux qui sont restés au pays, et de plus, ils ont perdu beaucoup en simplicité."¹⁹⁸

Some returned after little success in finding work, and others arrived wounded or sick. They also wrote of the travellers returning with one young Kasena, 'John Poabadye', who had been in captivity in the south.¹⁹⁹ Some Christians became involved in the cattle trade to Kumasi, provoking concern among the White Fathers who thought them more occupied with commerce than religion.²⁰⁰

In 1928-29, the *NT Annual Report* records 69,486 going south for work.²⁰¹ Most people left Navrongo at the beginning of the dry season and returned at planting time.²⁰² The 1928-29 report states that "the vast majority return to the land of their forefathers sooner or later, as it is one of the strongest points of their religion that they must not desert it."²⁰³ Fortes writes that among the Tallensi, the deep bonds attaching a person to his ancestral land will "cause men who have been away from home for years to give up splendid farms ... or good jobs ... to return to take up their patrimonial land."²⁰⁴ Permanent settlement of northerners became evident in many areas of the Gold Coast by 1930, and the government predicted that this would increase as "civilisation" advanced.²⁰⁵

The abandonment of recruitment did not lead to the cessation of movement to other parts of Ghana. Instead the policies and need for cash triggered off a chain migration process whereby people from the north often stayed initially with family

members until they found work, and then found their own accommodation.²⁰⁶ Between April 1958 and March 1959 nearly a million northerners crossed the major rivers on ferries to the south.²⁰⁷ In the 1948 census less than 2 percent of Kasena lived in Ashanti and the Colony.²⁰⁸ By 1960 this increased to 7.5 percent (2820) of the Kasena living outside the Kasena homeland, but these figures may well be underestimated.²⁰⁹ Not all the migration was to large urban areas; many migrated to cocoa farming and timber producing areas. Table 2 illustrates the regional destination of emigrants from the Upper Region in 1970.²¹⁰ A total of 69.1 percent migrated to Ashanti, Brong Ahafo and Northern Regions. In addition, between 1960 and 1970, Bolgatanga was the fourth fastest growing town in Ghana.²¹¹

Table 2. Regional Destination of Emigrants from the Upper Region, 1970

Region of Destination	Proportion of Emigration from the Upper Region
Western	10.5
Accra	8.1
Central	3.8
Eastern	6.5
Ashanti	34.2
Brong Ahafo	22.0
Northern	12.9
Volta	1.9

By 1985, an estimated 18 percent of Ghana's total population originated from northern Ghana or other West African areas, but lived in the seven southern regions of Ghana.²¹² There has never been a consistent government policy with respect to migration. As a result of a population study in 1987, John Nabila called for a new "spatial distribution policy" which "recognizes urban growth trends and seeks to redirect migration away from the largest towns."²¹³

(4) The impact of migration

There have been no specific migration studies on the Kasena apart from Koetting's study on the impact of migration on Kasena music. However, research on

other northern Ghana groups has important implications for the Kasena.²¹⁴ Some authors argue for a single cause contributing to migration, such as population pressure²¹⁵ or the poor distribution of rainfall.²¹⁶ On some occasions this may be the case. Chiana and Katiu had poor crops in 1927 which resulted in much stealing of food the following dry season.²¹⁷ Rains were delayed again in 1928, and the White Fathers report that many families emigrated, including a quarter of the catechumens.²¹⁸ Poor crops in 1952 and 1953 led to hunger and, since work was scarce, many men left for the south.²¹⁹ Reasons for migration however are complex and may vary over time.

Nabila finds the greatest reason for Frafra migration is to search for a job and money.²²⁰ Money is needed for taxes, bride-price, material goods, purchase of animals and education.²²¹ Opportunities for paid employment in the north are limited. Farming is largely subsistent and cattle have traditionally had more religious and cultural significance than been a source of income. Nabila also indicates other reasons for moving, which included enjoying a better social life, wanting "to know the south", being taken there by family, improving education, and seeking or eloping with a spouse.²²² Some migrate because of family conflicts resulting from the selfishness of a family head or from friction between parents and a child. Those whose parents have died, or who are not in a position to inherit property or farm land, usually migrate south. Education, even if only elementary, also influences migration, as educated people see themselves as misfits in their societies.²²³

The findings of Kasanga and Avis support those of Nabila. They point out that besides the chain migration set off by colonial labour policies, the main reasons for migrating south are rural poverty and the search for "wealth", household links in urban areas, the search for independence and "experience", and educational content and location.²²⁴ They indicate that less than 10 percent of those surveyed left home because of family conflicts and 1 percent or less left because of a fear of witchcraft.²²⁵ Individuals desiring personal wealth and independence find it difficult to remain and farm with the family, as a substantial part of what is earned from the produce is channelled directly back into the family.²²⁶

Among the Frafra, J.Hart reports that mostly 15-45 year old males tend to migrate, and only half the male population farm at home.²²⁷ However, Nabila notices a trend among nuclear families beginning to move, especially in cases where the decision to go is not an extended family decision or where there is no assurance at home that the wife and children would be cared for. In addition, Nabila finds that because many migrants are unskilled, they target unskilled jobs and the chain migration results in family clan members being concentrated in specific occupations.²²⁸

Migration has never been an easy process. Northern groups mostly migrated into the urban zongos. An early description of the zongos depicts the inhabitants as being mostly professing Muslims who were regarded as dirty, and ex-slaves, with whom southerners would not mix nor give their daughters to in marriage.²²⁹ Father Gagnon states "A Kumasi, les gens sont riches et regardent les gens de Navrongo comme des esclaves, ou de moins des gens de rien."²³⁰ K.Prah claims that not only were all the northern groups exploited during early colonial times, but that the exploitation continued into the 1970s because of the continuing unsanitary conditions of the Zongos and the meagreness of wages. Some women resorted to prostitution and often people worked two jobs (day and night) in the cities to augment their meagre earnings.²³¹

Ladouceur observes that although migration did introduce a "monetary and wage economy into even the most remote villages in the North, its effects on the development of the North itself were marginal, if not negative."²³² There are a number of negative effects resulting from migration. When people are injured, sick or become old, they often return home and the cost is thus borne by those in the homeland.²³³ Second, as it is the young, literate and innovative who usually migrate, the agriculture in the north is often left to those who are old or weak, or may fear to accept new practices.²³⁴ Third, if migrants do not have possessions to take home, this may prevent them from returning because of the shame associated with returning home empty handed.²³⁵ Thus young able men and women may remain in the south, while older family members struggle to survive marginally in an environment in which the

physical parameters have contributed to uncertainty and suffering.

Nabila reports that people take their rural context with them to the urban areas and they retain their ethnic and kinship identities as well as developing social organisations.²³⁶ However, Koetting notes that the Kasena associations are weaker than with other ethnic groups. Migration is also a source of social change. Employment forces people to be more time-conscious than in the rural farming community. People hear new ideas, have access to a greater variety of material goods and their status is achieved rather than ascribed. Koetting discovers that while some contextual aspects of Kasena music have changed, Kasena maintain some of the forms of traditional dance and music which remain true to the tradition of the homeland.²³⁷

The family link in migration is a two-way process. One striking characteristic of migration is the link migrants maintain with their homelands. Nabila points out that most urban dwellers "are an integral part of both the towns they live in and of the villages they migrated from."²³⁸ A person functions within the family and lineage structure and through the family is tied to the ancestral lands. There are obligations to family connected with farming, marriage, funerals, inheritance, performance of sacrifice, political affiliation and any crises the family may face.²³⁹

People are concerned with more than simple enjoyment of city life and some endeavour to find the means to improve life at home. They will therefore work lengthy periods to obtain money or goods to be sent home to relations or to a wife.²⁴⁰ Most migrants have a deep desire to return home. Ninety-eight percent of the 935 Kasena whom Koetting interviewed in Accra said that they intended to return.²⁴¹ This attachment to the homeland is not unique to the northern groups nor to Ghana. In a study of the Avatime in the Volta region, Lynne Brydon states

For Avatimes there is an emotional attachment to 'home' (*kepa*) where Avatime (*siyase*) is spoken. 'Home' is where you come from: your relatives and your rights to land, until recently the main source of livelihood, are there. 'Home' is also where, ideally, you should die, but if this is impossible, every effort is made to bury you there.²⁴²

According to D.Aronson, the Ijebu Yoruba of Nigeria assert that "the city is our farm".²⁴³ For individuals "a lifelong series of obligations and expectations binds migrants and their kinsmen and townsmen at home."²⁴⁴

The frequency with which northern Ghanaians return home is influenced by a number of factors, including the cost of the journey. Some migrate for only short periods, but many migrate semi-permanently, staying between 5 and 25 years.²⁴⁵ Due to the costs of transport and living, Nabila assumes that cyclical labour movements will tend to give way to more permanent migrations except for those in the food and cocoa-producing areas.²⁴⁶

There is a reciprocity of gifts between migrants and people in the homeland, although many migrants do not send gifts home. Nabila mentions that not only is advice sent from home to the migrants, but also that

Juju of all types (charms, amulets, magical wands, tails and fetishes) figure prominently in the gifts which flow back to the urbanites....Since most of these originate from home, the regulations are based on the religious beliefs and social organization of the people in the homeland.²⁴⁷

Life in the city is fraught with uncertainty and danger so there is a need for spiritual protection. Thus the bonds with the family at home are strengthened.

Migration can have a broadening effect on the minds of those who go south. Margaret Archer argues that migration "makes new items available to the host and migrant populations and these can be welcomed, ignored or attacked. What is more they can simply be registered or utilized as alternatives."²⁴⁸ Migration brought many Kasena into touch with Christians and Muslims. There were opportunities for hearing the gospel not available in the north of Ghana. Small numbers of Kasena responded to the gospel in the south, but the bulk largely ignored the church. The Ghana Evangelism Committee Accra Survey of churches in 1986 found only one Kasena church and one Konkomba church.²⁴⁹ Virtually all the 238 English speaking churches were composed of multi-ethnic congregations of southerners. Only one Roman

Catholic and one Assemblies of God church "had significant numbers of northern Ghanaians attending English speaking churches."²⁵⁰ Few Kasena attend Ga or Twi speaking churches unless they have been born in the south or spent many years there. There are many who regard Christian teaching merely as an alternative to traditional practices, thus explaining their preparedness to consult diviner and attend church.

6. The Kasena Homeland Ecosystem

The Upper East Region lies on the margins of the Sahel and the ecosystem is fragile. Formerly the vegetation of this area was more luxuriant forest vegetation, but seasonal burning, felling of trees for farming, building and fuel, and animal grazing have resulted in only remnants of forest remaining in small groves of trees.²⁵¹ It is these groves which are usually *tangwana*. What remains is a wooded savanna with the main trees being acacias, shea, baobab and dawadawa. Grass grows up to 3 metres in places in the wet season. During 1938 the government implemented rules against grass burning on a wide scale for the first time, which were then acclaimed as "an unquestionable success".²⁵² This success, however, was short-lived and seasonal burning of grass still takes places in spite of continued government efforts to ban it. This contributes to a continual decrease in soil fertility.

Soils in the Kasena-Nankana area are mostly *ground water lateritic*; they are shallow and become easily water-logged in the rainy season.²⁵³ In the Chiana area some soils are *savanna ochrosols* which develop over granite and are well drained. As much of the land has been cleared of trees, it is subject to sheet erosion which further reduces soil productivity. Gully erosion has also occurred along streams in all the communities of the western section, removing farm land. Sheet flooding has resulted largely in a gently rolling landscape.²⁵⁴ There are also a series of low granite hills to the north of Chiana reaching a height of 340 metres above sea level. Life in this environment is surrounded with uncertainty. The Navrongo Annual Report for 1945-46 indicates that there was little potential wealth in the land "and what it does possess it yields to the individual only with the most painstaking labour."²⁵⁵

(1) Farming and food shortages

The Kasena live in dispersed family compounds with farm land located immediately around each house (see Figure 4), rather than clustered villages. They also grow some crops on a "bush farm". Their main crops are early millet, late millet, guinea corn, beans and groundnuts. Rice is grown in low lying areas and in recent years attempts have been made to encourage people to grow greater amounts of corn.

Although the annual average rainfall for the Kasena-Nankana area is 100 cm (40"), approximately three-quarters of the rain falls between May and September.²⁵⁶ For up to seven months of the year crops cannot be grown without irrigation and drought occurs approximately once every five years. In a wet season the rainfall can be unevenly distributed, with a good harvest being recorded in one area and failing in another, such as when Chiana's crops failed in 1942.²⁵⁷ From the White Fathers' diaries and references in Annual Reports poor harvests or food shortages have frequently occurred as result of either too little or too much rain.²⁵⁸ C. Lynn, the agricultural officer who undertook the first extensive study of agriculture in the Kasena-Nankana area, reported that "a shortage of cultivated foods is experienced in about two years out of every five"²⁵⁹ and this recurrent food shortage is the most serious agricultural problem people faced.²⁶⁰

Violent storms sometimes occur in October, blowing over the millet crops. Consequently drumming is banned in Chiana from the time millet is high until the harvest is complete as people believe drumming causes the storms. The Kasena awareness of the unpredictability of rainfall is reflected in the rituals performed by guardians of both earth and rain shrines in attempting to control the rain. Prior to the start of the rainy season, rituals are performed at the earth shrine. During the rains, if there is an excess or lack of rain, the *doa tu* (rain guardian) is responsible for rituals. On occasions this lack or excess of rain is attributed to his activities. In 1909 H.Berkeley warned the Saga "Headman" and three men whom people accused of "putting a strong fetish on the weather and stopping the rain and spoiling the crops."²⁶¹

Four months later as Berkeley struggled to reach Saga through floods, he suspected that they used "their alleged supernatural gifts in the contrary direction."²⁶²

Another major problem affecting food production in the past was caused by a series of locust plagues. In 1929, Chiana suffered particularly, with the result that the following year many people searched for work in Navrongo to find food.²⁶³ Plagues in 1934 in Nakong and Kayoro were so severe that the Government provided food relief to both places, as well as a weekly payment to compound owners.²⁶⁴ In 1937, locust damage to crops contributed to migration south.²⁶⁵

The main crop traditionally grown by the Kasena is millet. Being the crop of their fathers, rituals are performed prior to its planting and after harvest. In 1912, the Government tried to introduce yam growing into Navrongo, but the Kasena resisted this "because their fathers did not do so."²⁶⁶ Little more agricultural improvement occurred until the mid 1930s when the government introduced rice seed and the Chiefs of Chiana and Nakong readily accepted it.²⁶⁷ In Lynn's survey, he estimates that an adult cultivated from 1.68 to 2.4 acres, but only reaped between one-half and three-quarters of an acre.²⁶⁸ Among the direct causes of food shortage, Lynn identifies "lack of sufficient incentive" and "conservatism"²⁶⁹ which makes people prefer only to cultivate their small piece of impoverished ancestral land rather than ploughing an additional bush farm. Lynn links this situation with two conditions. He states, "Ancestor worship causes them to dwell in the past and to think insufficiently of the present and the future. This, too, is probably symptomatic of the unsettled conditions when only the past was certain."²⁷⁰ It was therefore very difficult for individuals to break away from traditional practices, and extension work was exceedingly slow because agriculture was "intimately bound up with custom and tradition."²⁷¹

Lynn sympathetically understood the uncertainty of the Kasena past. However, his deduction that ancestral worship caused their conservatism illustrates that Lynn was not fully aware of the route Kasena used to implement change which ironically was through their ancestral system. The Kasena have a proverb which says *Feri donga*

mo ba ma mage feri duga ('old things they use to measure new things').²⁷² The Kasena used the past as a measuring stick not because they dwelt on their ancestors in the past, but because they had few other alternatives with which to measure change. They developed a system for survival in a fragile, uncertain and fear-filled environment which shows their beliefs that the supernatural and the physical are intimately linked and which supports the social power structure. British officials contributed to resistance to change through their ridicule of the ancestral routes the Kasena had for implementing change. Lynn perceptively argues that changes had to be implemented from the top and from within. The government introduced bullock ploughs in the 1930s, but acceptance was very slow.²⁷³ Today they are widely used.

In pre-colonial times, food shortage had a severe impact on family life. Sometimes people resorted to exchanging their children for food.²⁷⁴ By 1938 the Government claimed that shortages were no longer as severe because the availability of money enabled people to buy food from those who had food to spare.²⁷⁵ However, a subsequent report indicated cash is a "transient phenomenon and the fact cannot be escaped that this is an inherently poor district."²⁷⁶ In 1967, a survey in northern Ghana reported serious widespread undernourishment at a time of agricultural activity when people required maximum energy output. J.Hunter stated that "in June, 23 per cent of the men and 36 per cent of the women were 'seriously' to 'very seriously' underweight."²⁷⁷ When crops fail in consecutive years and people lack animals to sell for cash, they either require food relief or have to migrate south to find work.²⁷⁸ In 1990-91, charcoal production increased in the western section, further depleting trees. This was the only means for many people to make cash to buy food: had there been alternative ways of earning cash they would not have made charcoal.

A dam building programme began in Chiana, Katiu and Nakong in 1939. People contributed their labour and some finances.²⁷⁹ The dams helped ease the critical water shortage for cattle and provided modest scope for dry season gardens. Today only four dams in the western Kasena-Nankana area contain water throughout the dry season. The others have silted or collapsed. Consequently opportunities for

improving food production remain limited. The Tono Irrigation Scheme, begun in the 1970s, now provides large scale irrigation to the west of Navrongo. The dam and forestry programmes implemented in the 1960s, had a disappointing record, as many of these projects were not maintained and dams silted up.²⁸⁰

Apart from petty trading and Government positions, few other opportunities for employment or additional income exist in the western section. The situation is better in Navrongo, where stores and a large central market place are located. Good educational facilities exist, which include teacher and technical training. In 1991 Navrongo was linked to the national electricity grid which has aided development. Land is also available for irrigated farming at Tono. A number of facilities have been now been built in Chiana such as a post office, police station and forestry and agricultural facilities, but little development has taken place in any other communities apart from the provision of limited supplies of potable water. If water supplies were further improved there would be more opportunities for dry season gardening.

In the dry season, day temperatures can exceed 40°C but between November to February they are modified by the Harmattan blowing from the Sahara. This occasionally brings night temperatures down to less than 20°C.²⁸¹ The dry season is not a period of inactivity. Building occurs, funerals take place and many people are now involved with community and self-help projects. By the beginning of the rainy season, food supplies are often extremely low and men begin farming intensively with little energy. Often young men will resort to taking heart stimulants purchased in the market place to increase their strength. This is an additional risk to their health, when, because of inadequate nutrition, they already have a lower resistance to disease.

(2) The impact of sickness

The Kasena have faced a series of major diseases. In 1906 an outbreak of cerebro-spinal meningitis (CSM) resulted in more than 10,000 deaths, sometimes destroying whole families.²⁸² In 1942, CSM caused high death rates in Chiana and

Katiu. Vaccination programmes have now brought CSM under control. Infant mortality was found to be very high in the districts. In 1919 it was reported that "of 8,856 children, born and alive at five years of age, only 2,912 survived after ten years."²⁸³ Measles, small-pox and yellow fever were serious problems.²⁸⁴ In 1918-1919, the area was devastated by Influenza. An estimated 15,000 people died in "Navarro-Zauragu District".²⁸⁵ The death rate was probably higher as people did not allow the deaths of children to be counted. Funeral customs were suspended and "Convinced, too, that death was certain, everyone grew regardless of the future and emptied their granaries, so that, had it not been for a providential fall of rain in May causing early and record first harvest, famine would have ensued."²⁸⁶ Administrative officials thought it ironic that many of those who survived were the elders whom they perceived to be resistant to change and who hated the chiefs they had appointed.²⁸⁷

Nakong has also faced particular difficulties because of the prevalence of onchocerciasis causing blindness. The Sissili Valley has been described as "the most sinister area for blindness in Ghana."²⁸⁸ In 1950 when B.Waddy visited the area, 39 out of 204 men examined were blind and had to be led out to work in the fields.²⁸⁹ Between 1931 and 1948 about twelve small settlements along the Sissili river and three others near Kayoro disappeared. Nakong has steadily lost population since the 1920s.²⁹⁰ Some people have moved away from the area and built houses closer to Katiu. A massive spraying programme has led to spectacular control of the vector fly, enabling people to work in previously infected areas. However, Benneh argues these areas have yet to be developed to their full economic potential.²⁹¹

Malaria has continued to be endemic in the Upper East Region. Medical facilities have been slowly improved through both government and non-government organisations. The government opened a dispensary in Chiana in 1954, replacing the one in Katiu, but they only established a health post in 1967. This has been the major facility for the western section. Health workers have been trained in many areas. However, the costs of treatment at Government facilities are often a deterrent for people with minimal surplus income. Not only does the whole ecosystem exist on a

fragile balance, but to survive within it takes a great deal of energy and persistence.

Kasena have perceived their environment to be harsh. Overwhelmed by this at times, they feel there is little in their power to bring about any change. Food shortages still occur frequently. This harshness often creates despair. A Christian woman once remarked that when God expelled Adam and Eve from the garden of Eden, he sent them to Chiana. The Kasena Priest, Fr. J.Awia reflects on the history of his people and the times when serious misfortunes of hunger, epidemic, and quarrels descended on the Kasena at the same times as other problems. He concludes that "The Jews suffered all these one after the other on their way from Egypt to the promised land, but here the people at times went through them all at the same time."²⁹²

7. Conclusion

Although the Kasena came from diverse origins, today they form a loosely related confederacy with the Nankana. From the foundation of their communities in northern Ghana they have not been cut off from other groups, as illustrated by inter-group disputing and exploitation by slave raiders and traders passing through. To the outside world, they appeared to be one of the "savage tribes" with a slave status. This perception coupled with the nature of the physical environment led to policies which, for the first 30 years of contact with the British Government, resulted in little improvement in the physical quality of life and the measure of peace mainly benefitted traders passing through. The policies initiated chain migration which disrupted family life but also exposed the Kasena to change. For the majority of Kasena, migration has not been uni-directional. Their homeland remains a powerful part of their lives and so most people see themselves as returning one day to their homeland.

From the Kasena perspective, they heard within their auditorium how others perceived them during uninvited invasions from both slave raiders and the British. This created such deep fear that Kasena are said to have hardly ever left their villages.²⁹³ Old people have told me that as children they rarely ventured beyond the

environs of their compound. The Kasena attempted vehemently to resist those who disrupted their lives, utilising the physical and spiritual powers to which they had access. They perceived their salvation to come from the *tangwana* and this gave them confidence in its power. Although slave raiding weakened the Kasena internal organisation, they survived as a people even to the extent of a Kasena in Sierra Leone identifying his language as Kasem.

The Kasena also began to hear about "Kumasi". This created expectations for improved access to money and a trip to "Kumasi" became almost like a sign of initiation into adulthood. The changes to family life not only included growth in individualism, rending apart some extended families, but in others the nature of the extended family expanded geographically with many of the members living and working in other parts of the country.

Kasena themselves have observed changes to their former politico-social structure. The Chiana Chief told Dittmer that the *kwara's*

religious sanctions have been weakened by Christian Missionary activities: the initiative in governing their people and in maintaining law and order has been wrested from the chiefs' hands by the coming of British Government, and the cessation of local wars has reduced many of the organisations based on the fetish to mere pretence of their former glory ...²⁹⁴

O.Kalu illustrates the importance of understanding the fragility of the Kasena auditorium and its fluid nature, for "the very element of precariousness forces communities to seek for more avenues for acquiring spiritual forces and mechanisms for combatting evil forces, thereby creating opening for religious change."²⁹⁵ In the Kasena homeland, people have heard new ideas and beliefs, but whether they have ignored, attacked, welcomed or simply utilised them as alternatives is influenced by the nature of their family life and their cultural auditorium. Kasena family life and culture forms the subject of Chapter three. Its understanding helps us to place in context whether they have heard the gospel of Jesus Christ as a message merely enabling them to die in peace or whether it has helped them live in peace.

NOTES

1. A.Cardinall, "The State of our Present Ethnographic Knowledge of the Gold Coast Peoples," *Africa*, 1929, 2, p.410.
2. M.Fortes, *The Dynamics of Clanship among the Tallensi*, London, Oxford University Press, 1945, p.23.
3. *Ibid*, p.24. Schott also found oral traditions could be manipulated for political purposes (Schott, "Sources for a history of the Bulsa," pp.141-168.)
4. *Ibid* p.159. Schott found forty years after Rattray recorded a Kanjaga origin story, the story was not remembered.
5. Wright, "Can a blind man really know an elephant?" p.320.
6. E.Tonkin, "The boundaries of history in oral performance," *History in Africa*, 1982, 9, p.283.
7. Awedoba, *Aspects of Wealth and Exchange*, p.41.
8. Schott, "Sources for a history of the Bulsa," p.160. Schott argues that this foreshortening is not caused by amnesia or some mental defect for there are those in society who recall complex and extensive genealogies. In 1988, a group of Chiana elders recalled for me their genealogies in each of their respective areas. Some men were able to recall 70 or more names. In 1992, one elder repeated his genealogy of more than 70 names and there was very little change from the list I had written down six years previously.
9. The story is summarised from the version I received of the Chiana story although reference is made to Dittmer's version (Dittmer, *Die sakralen Häuptlinge der Gurunsi* pp.163-170.)
10. On the 1900 Boundary Commission map, "Sear" is marked approximately 22 km north-east of Chiana, north of the 11th parallel. The map indicates compounds located there in 1900. (PRO/CO 879/65. No.13, Encl.1. From Capt. Watherston to the Governor, Gold Coast, 14-1-1901.)
11. *tangwane/a*. The *tangwane* is often simply referred to as *tangwam*.
12. Kasena elders state emphatically that this is a forbidden practice for Kasena and the vow was not fulfilled. Dittmer's version of the story gives the actual words of the vow. (Dittmer, *Die sakralen Häuptlinge der Gurunsi*, p.163.)
13. Schott, states: "The people of Gbedem claim that their ancestor came from a place called Wasiga (or Wusiga) in the north. He passed through Chana, where the section called Gwenia is directly related to AGBERO or AGBEDO, the founder of Gbedem." ("Sources for the history of the Bulsa," p.161.) An entry for 19-8-1932 in

NAG-A. ADM 63/5/6. Informal Diary, 1/6/30 - 27/11/33, p.226 also shows a relationship the people of Gbedema have with the Kasena. They indicated their ancestors came from Chakani in Kasena. "The Chakani people, in their turn are said to have come from a place called SIA, whence also came the people who are now at Kayoro and Nakon, pure Kassenas all."

14. Both these places appear to be in the vicinity of the present day Katiu.

15. The Chiana elders pointed out an alternative version which says that after killing Wusiga's mother-in-law, Wusiga went into the bush and became an outlaw almost like a madman. The Chuchuliga people invited him to stay to stop him causing harm to people.

16. In the Chiana story, they say, Zoo's granddaughter was Katia, from which came the name "Katiu". However, some Katiu elders do not mention Zoo and argue that Wusiga's son was Abatia, while others refer to the Katiu ancestor as "Katia".

17. The word *wε* can mean sky, sun, God or refer to a personal shrine.

18. The Katiu clan-settlement of Afania tell how they moved to Sandema for a time before returning to their father's land. Today they still sing their first funeral songs in Buli, before they continue with Kasem.

19. The *kwara* is an animal horn which has important religious significance.

20. This story is also mentioned in a document by the Assistant DC, A Short History of the Buli, Nankani and Kassena Speaking People in the Navrongo area of the Mamprusi District, 1933, Unpublished ms, (Re-typed 1985), p.5.

21. "Symbol und Essenz der Herrschaft" (Dittmer, *Die sakralen Häuptlinge der Gurunsi*, p.114.)

22. Awedoba, Aspects of Wealth and Exchange, p.56. The *kwara* has a "mother" *kwara nu* (*kwara* mother). The *kwara* is under the guardianship of the kingmaker lineage and the *kwara nu* remains with this lineage. When a new chief is enskinned, the chief has to act as a marriage suitor to obtain the *kwara*. (*Ibid*, p.167.)

23. Dittmer, *Die sakralen Häuptlinge der Gurunsi*, p. 115.

24. NAG-A. ADM 63/5/1. Navrongo District Record Book, 12-8-1926, p.401 and NAG-A. ADM 56/1/512. Northern Province Northern Territories Annual Report 1926-1927, p.18.

25. The story is compiled from interviews conducted with Kayoro elders from all clan-settlements in 1983, 1988 and 1992. A 1934 report on the Kasena, claimed the people of Kayoro, Nakong and Chiana were all descended from the same unknown ancestor who initially settled at Chichiri (now in ruins) between Kayoro and Pinda. These sons left Chichiri and founded Nakong, Kayoro and Chiana respectively. (NAG-T. NRG

- 6/3/1. Annual Report Navrongo area 1934/1935, Appendix "A" The Kassena, p.5). Nakong and Chiana both admit having the same ancestor, but Kayoro does not.
26. Chiana's story of Kayoro's origin differs. Chiana claims Kayoro means a "blacksmith's farm" as a blacksmith came to Wusiga at Goli and asked for farming land. I have never heard this version in Kayoro.
27. Kwincha lies in the far north-east of Ghana.
28. In 1983, Mohammed Apepiu, an old muslim who was the first Kayoro convert to Islam, told me the people of Ngwombio were the first settlers on the land and all others came in after them. Some in Ngwombio still maintain that today, but this is highly disputed by those from the Kachela and Kaba clan-settlements.
29. Personal Communication (Pers. com.) Kayoro Chief, 22-1-1992. In Dittmer's genealogy, the present chief would be the 16th chief. Dittmer counts the 1st Kachela migrant into the area as the first chief. (Dittmer, *Die sakralen Häuptlinge der Gurunsi*, p.155.)
30. Pers. com., Nakong Chief, 18-2-1986, and Nakong elders, 16-4-1992.
31. Zwernemann uses 14 years and estimates it for all Kasena Chieftaincies with known numbers of Chiefs since their founding (Zwernemann, "La Fondation de Po," pp.10,11). Awedoba uses 16 years for Navrongo (Awedoba, *Aspects of Wealth and Exchange*, p.47).
32. A. Teviu and J. Callow, *The Founding of Paga*, Unpublished ms, n.d. D.St.John-Parsons, *Legends of Northern Ghana* contains stories of both Navrongo and Paga. A.Awedoba, *Aspects of Wealth and Exchange*, pp.41-51, discusses the oral traditions of Navrongo and Paga. Zwernemann, *La Fondation de Po*, pp.3-15. Dittmer, *Die sakralen Häuptlinge der Gurunsi*.
33. Fortes, *The Dynamics of Clanship*, p.7.
34. A.Mabogunje, "The land and peoples of West Africa," in J.A.Ajayi and M. Crowder (eds) *History of West Africa*, Vol.1, London, Longman, (2nd ed.), 1976, p.28.
35. NAG-A. ADM 63/5/1. Navrongo District Record Book, 1-2-1927, p.402.
36. This story is replicated in other Kasena communities. Zwernemann also relates how a woman in Pô stole the *kwara* from Kasana, a community 80 km west of Chiana in the Kasena-fera area. (Zwernemann, "La Fondation de Po," pp.4,5.)
37. Margaret Archer notes that where contradictions or inconsistencies exist in a culture, there are far-reaching social consequences and social change can result from the replacement of inconsistent doctrines (M.Archer, *Culture and Agency: The Place of Culture in Social Theory*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1988, p.14.)

38. The Kasem language is assigned to the Grusi subdivision of the Gur language group (J. Bendor-Samuel, "The Grusi subgroup of the Gur languages," *Journal of West African Languages*, 1965, 2, pp.47-55.
39. S.W. Koelle, *Polyglotta Africana*, London, Church Missionary Society, 1854, Reprinted 1963. In 1848, J. Clarke published words recorded in Fernando Po of "Nibulu" and "Tshamba". They are assigned to the Grusi dialect, but no details are given of informants or location. (J. Clarke, *Specimens of Dialects*, Berwick-upon-Tweed, Gregg International Publishers, 1848, 1972 reprinted. See "Commentary on the Text", pp.53,59.)
40. Koelle, *Polyglotta Africana*, p.6.
41. *Ibid.*
42. J. Zwernemann, "Kasem Dialects in the Polyglotta Africana," *African Language Review*, 1967, 6, p.129.
43. *Ibid.*, p.130. "Bagbalan" is north-west Sisala. Rattray pointed out that the Nankana call the Kasena "Yulse". (Rattray, *Tribes of the Ashanti Hinterland*, p.222).
44. Koelle, *Polyglotta Africana*, p.6.
45. The Boundary Commission in 1900 mapped both "Kwapo" and "Kunsala" as inhabited villages. The Topographic Map Sheet 1002A2, Ghana, 1971 (Scale 1:50000) marks "Kunsolo" as deserted. However, Kasena from Chiana who farm and work during the wet season in the area, say people now reside at Kunsolo. Furthermore, the spelling of the name is not a significant issue. In the 1937-1938 *NT Annual Report*, on a map of "the Gold Coast", the village is marked as "Kapung".
46. Rattray, *The Tribes of the Ashanti Hinterland*, p.530.
47. P.E.H. Hair, An Historical Introduction in Koelle, *Polyglotta Africana*, p.14.
48. The term Grusi can also be written as "Gurunsi", "Grunshi", "Gurunshi" and "Gourounsi" (French).
49. L. Tauxier, *Nouvelles Notes sur le Mossi et le Gourounsi*, pp.36,37.
50. L.G. Binger, *Du Niger au Golfe de Guinée*, Paris. Vol.2., 1892, pp.19,20.
51. *Ibid.*, pp.35,36. He attempted to distinguish differing "Gourounsi" groups on the basis of tatoo marks and incision.
52. Kwame Arhin, *The Papers of George Ferguson*, Leiden, African Social Research Documents, 1974, Vol. 7, p.76.
53. *Ibid.*, p.117.

54. Tauxier, *Nouvelles Notes*, p.49.
55. *Ibid*, p.51.
56. F.J.Nicolas, "La Question de L'Ethnique 'Gourounsi' En Haute-Volta (A.O.F.)," *Africa*, 1952, 22, pp.170-172, and J.Zwernemann, "Shall we use the word 'Gurunsi'?" *Africa*, 1958, 28, pp.123-125.
57. Arhin, *The Papers of George Ferguson*, p.76.
58. NAG-A. ADM 56/1/514. "Navarro District", J.O'Kineally, D.C. 1-11-1907.
59. *Ibid*.
60. Binger, *Du Niger au Golfe de Guinée*, Vol.1, p.481.
61. *Ibid*, p.483.
62. K.Arhin, *West African Traders in Ghana in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, London, Longman, 1979, p.5.
63. P.Ladouceur, *Chiefs and Politicians: The Politics of Regionalism in Northern Ghana*, London, Longman, 1979, p.35.
64. Awedoba, *Aspects of Wealth and Exchange*, p.57.
65. T.Bowdich, *Mission From Cape Coast Castle to Ashantee*, London, Frank Cass and Co.Ltd., 1819, pp.320,321. Ferguson also reported that the Gonja and Dagomba required at least 1,000 slaves every year for the King of Kumasi before the war of 1873-74. (Arhin, *The Papers of George E. Ferguson*, p.100).
66. J.Goody, "The Over-Kingdom of Gonja," in D.Forde and P.Kaberry (eds) *West African Kingdoms in the Nineteenth Century*, London, Oxford University Press, 1967, p.183.
67. *Ibid*, pp.182,183.
68. J.Holden, "The Zabarima Conquest of Northwest Ghana, Part I," *THSG*, 1965, 8, pp.60,61,64. I use the spelling "Zabarma" (*Ethnologue*, The Summer Institute of Linguistics, Dallas Texas, 1988, p.157).
69. Binger, *Du Niger au Golfe de Guinée*, Vol.2, p.2.
70. *Ibid*, Vol.2, pp.3,38.
71. Holden, "The Zabarima Conquest," p.60.
72. *Ibid*, pp.65,66.

73. *Ibid*, p.69.
74. Pers. Com. Akania Chief, Kayoro, 22-1-92.
75. Holden, "The Zabarima Conquest," p.71.
76. *Ibid*, pp.75,76.
77. A Short History of the Buli, Nakani and Kassena, pp.6,7. The Assistant DC interviewed Mamadi Kantosi in Navrongo in 1933 who had been a horse boy for Babatu. He told how Chiana and Nakong had driven Babatu away, so Babatu went back to Seti and recruited more men before re-invading Nakong, Chiana, Paga and Navrongo over a period of years.
78. PRO/CO. 879/65. No.13. Encl. 1. From Capt. Watherston to the Governor, Gold Coast, General Report, 14-1-1901.
79. Awedoba, Aspects of Wealth and Exchange, p.66.
80. *Ibid*, p.78. Also Goody, "The over-Kingdom of Gonja," p.13.
81. NAG-A. ADM 56/1/20. *NT Annual Report*, 1902, p.50. On 24 July 1907, "'Bagao' the Grunshi" was captured in Navrongo and executed. (NAG-A. ADM 56/1/5. Letter from Chief Commissioner, Gambaga, A.Watherston. to Colonial Secretary, 30-7-1907.) This had "an excellent effect all over the country. (NAG-A. ADM 56/1/515. Progress Report on the Northern Territories for September, 1907.)
82. NAG-A. ADM 56/1/19. *NT Annual Report*, 1901, p.238. The *NT Annual Report*, 1906 reported convictions for slave dealing: 3 for 1903; 10 for 1904 and 27 for 1906 (NAG-A. ADM 5/1/15. No. 530., p.41). Six were reported in the 1907 report.
83. PRO. CO 879/54, No.143, Enc.1, From Lt.Col. Northcott to Colonial Secretary (Col. Sec.), 31-7-1898.
84. NAG-A. ADM 56/1/5. Letter from Chief Commissioner, Gambaga, A.Watherston. to Col. Sec., 30-7-1907.
85. Rattray, *Tribes of the Ashanti Hinterland*, Vol. 2., p.536.
86. NAG-A. ADM 63/5/8. Informal Diary - Navrongo June 1939-May 1940, 29-1-40.
87. C. Lynn commented on the impact of slave-raiders on agriculture. Invasions concentrated people around rocky hills which implies poor land; people concentrated "more upon weapons ... than upon agricultural implements"; they did no agricultural activity in the dry season when invasions would have occurred; and, they burned the grass in the dry season, possibly "to reduce the chance of surprise attack." (C.Lynn, *Agriculture in North Mamprusi*, Department of Agriculture, Gold Coast, Bulletin No.34, 1937, p.9.)

88. NAG-A. ADM 5/1/16. *NT Annual Report*, 1907, p.7.
89. NAG-A. ADM 56/1/61. From a confidential letter of 4 May 1909 referred to in the "Handing Over Report to Capt. Warden and Half Yearly Report on the Navarro District (Jan - June 1911)", p.14.
90. Arhin, *The Papers of George Ferguson*, p.100.
91. *Ibid.*
92. NAG-A. ADM 56/1/1. Letter from Gambaga to Col. Sec., 13-1-1899, and from Lt.Col. Morris to Col. Sec., 6-3-1899.
93. PRO CO 879/54. No.143, Encl.1. From Lt.Col. H.Northcott to Col. Sec., 3-7-1898.
94. I heard this story or a version of it from seven separate groups of people in Katiu on: 5,11, 14, 17, 20, 21, 22 December, 1991. Some said the chief was fined cows.
95. PRO CO 879/65. No.13. Encl. 1. pp.47,48.
96. NAG-A. ADM 56/1/19. From Lt.Col. A. Morris to the French Resident in Moshi - Wagadugu.
97. NAG-A. ADM 56/1/19. Lt.Col. A.Morris to the Governor, 30-8-1901, p.134. In this letter Morris mistakenly identified the Navrongo people as "not real Fra Fras, but Tiansis."
98. In his proposal he aimed to send about 300 men, which included a "Maxim gun detachment with an addition of 30 Moshi Horsemen." (NAG-A. ADM 56/1/19. 30-8-1901. *Ibid.*) NAG-A. ADM 56/1/19. Diary of Expedition to the Tiansi Country 1902, pp.308-316. Forty were killed in Navrongo and many were wounded.
99. *Ibid*, pp.314,316.
100. NAG-A. ADM 56/1/19. 26-4-1902. Lt.Col. Morris to the Governor, pp.308,309. About 60 men were killed in Sandema.
101. NAG-A. ADM 56/1/20. *NT Annual Report*, 1902, p.50.
102. A.Watherston, "The Northern Territories of the Gold Coast," *Journal of the Royal Africa Society*, 1908, 7, pp.359.
103. *Ibid.*
104. NAG-A. ADM 56/1/2. Ag.Chief Commissioner to Ag.Col. Sec., 3-3-1905.
105. NAG-A ADM 56/1/2. Report on recent tour in Frafra. From Ag. Chief Commissioner Irvine to Ag.Col. Sec. 25-5-1905. The Fetish Priest and some followers went to Gambaga as a sign of submission and reported the District was peaceful

(NAG-A. ADM 56/1/515. Progress report on the Northern Territories for June 1905).

106. Watherston, "The Northern Territories," p.353.

107. NAG-A. ADM 56/1/19. Lt.Col.Morris to the Governor, 26-4-1902, p.307.

108. NAG-A. ADM 56/1/515. Progress Report on the Northern Territories for October, 1905.

109. NAG-A. ADM 56/1/2. Ag. Chief Commissioner Irvine to Ag.Col. Sec., 4-3-1905.

110. *Ibid.* Northcott first suggested no direct tax be imposed because of the few resources people had, but rather they supply free labour. He reasoned that free labour was necessary as "each individual owes a personal debt to the Government that provides him with protection and a means of obtaining justice." (PRO. CO 879/58. No. 96, Lt.Col Northcott to Colonial Office, Rec. 10-7-1899)

111. R.Bening, "Location of District Administrative Capitals in the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast (1897-1931)," *Bulletin de l'Institut Fondamental d'Afrique Noire*, T37 Sér. B, 1975, 3, p.652.

112. NAG-A. ADM 56/1/33. Chief Commissioner of the Northern Territories (CCNT) to the Governor, 3-2-1906.

113. NAG-A. ADM 56/1/2. CCNT Lt.Col.Morris, 16-4-1904.

114. NAG-A. ADM 5/1/16. *NT Annual Report*, 1907, p.12.

115. NAG-A. ADM 56/1/514. "Navarro District", J.O'Kineally, D.C. 1-11-1907.

116. NAG-A. ADM 56/1/61. Navaro. J.O'Kineally to Capt. Taylor, 1-11-1907, p.12.

117. NAG-A. ADM 5/1/16. *NT Annual Report*, 1907, p.7.

118. *Ibid*, p.8.

119. Awedoba, Aspects of Wealth and Exchange, p.24.

120. NAG-A. ADM 56/1/145. Handing over Reports on N.E. Province and Out Districts. 30-3-1909, From S.D. Nash to H.M. Berkeley.

121. NAG-A. ADM 56/1/61. Confidential letter, 4-5-1909, p.6.

122. NAG-A. ADM 56/1/61. Navaro, 1-11-1907, p.12.

123. NAG-A. ADM 56/1/463. Northern Territories North Eastern Province Annual Report, 1911.

124. NAG-A. ADM 56/1/463. Annual Report on Navarro-Zauragu District for the Year 1918.
125. NAG-A. ADM 63/5/1. Navrongo District Record Book, 8-5-1913, p.62.
126. NAG-A. ADM 56/1/61. Confidential letter, p.10.
127. WFD 2-7-1912. The White Fathers noted that Azosere had to pay a penalty of 100 shillings for not treating his subordinates well. See also NAG-A. ADM 56/1/471. Annual Report on the North-Eastern Province of the Northern Territories for 1913.
128. NAG-A. ADM 63/5/1. Op.Cit., p.62. The White Fathers portrayed Azosere more positively (WFD:18-1-1909 and 12-6-13.)
129. NAG-A. ADM 56/1/491. *NT Annual Report*, 1919, p.23. Ladouceur regarded the chiefs "mere instruments for implementing orders of colonial administrators and had no inherent authority." (Ladouceur, *Chiefs and Politicians*, p.41.)
130. NAG-A. ADM 56/1/464. *NT Annual Report*, 1912, p.21.
131. National Archives of Ghana -Tamale (NAG-T). NRG 8/3/43. Report on the Northern Province of the Northern Territories for the Year, 1931,1932, p.10.
132. NAG-A. ADM 63/5/6. Informal Diary, 1/6/30 - 27/11/33, p.216.
133. NAG-T. NRG 6/3/1. Annual Report Navrongo Area 1934/35, p.10.
134. NAG-T. NRG 8/3/59. *NT Annual Report*, 1935-1936, p.19, and NAG-A. ADM 5/1/70. *NT Annual Report*, 1937-1938, pp.3,4.
135. NAG-A. ADM 5/1/70. *NT Annual Report*, 1937-1938, pp.5,24. Chiefs on the Confederacy are from Nakong, Katiu, Kayoro, Chiana, Paga, Navrongo, Mirigu, Sirigu, Naga and Kologu. The term of Presidency was changed to 3 years.
136. R.Bening, "Foundations of the Modern Native States of Northern Ghana," *Universitas*, 1975, 5, p.130.
137. NAG-T. NRG 8/3/59. *NT Annual Report*, 1935-1936, p.34.
138. NAG-A. ADM 5/1/70. *NT Annual Report*, 1937-38, p.26.
139. Awedoba, Aspects of Wealth and Exchange, p.8.
140. NAG-A. ADM 63/5/3. Navrongo Station District Diary, 1 October 1913 - 7 January 1921, 7-1-1914, p.44. Disputes also occurred between Chiana and Sandema and Navrongo and Paga.
141. Cardinall, *Natives of the Northern Territories*, p.115.

142. NAG-A. ADM 56/1/11. CCNT to Col. Sec., 27-7-1911.
143. NAG-A. ADM 56/1/145. Handing Over Reports on N.E.Province and Out Districts. G.Fleury DC Navarro to Capt. Nash, 6-7-1908.
144. NAG-A. ADM 56/1/429. Monthly Report November 1907, Ag. DC to CCNT.
145. NAG-A. ADM 56/1/145. Handing over Report, 30-3-1909. New ones were built in 1912 in Chiana and Kayoro. (ADM 63/5/1. Navrongo District Record Book) pp.62, 83. A Rest House was only built in Katiu in 1934.
146. NAG-A. ADM 63/5/1. Navrongo District Record Book, June 1921, p.67.
147. NAG-A. ADM 56/1/145. Ag.DC Gambaga to Capt. P.Short, 25-10-11.
148. NAG-A. ADM 56/1/278. "Migration of Natives from one District to Another." Twelve pieces of correspondence between 30-4-1919 and 24-7-1921.
149. NAG-A. ADM 63/5/1. Navrongo District Record Book, April 1924, p.68. The Veterinary Officers were mentioned in connection with the creation of the Katiu Chieftaincy. In 1911 the road from Chiana to Nakong (31 miles) was built and the following year a trenched road was made direct to Chiana. (NAG-A. ADM 56/1/463. 1911 N-E Province Report, 1911. NAG-A. ADM 56/1/145. H.Wheeler to Capt.Warden. Hand Over Report, 18-2-1913. NAG-A. ADM 56/1/493.) In 1921, the road from Navrongo to Nakong via Chiana road was made motorable. (Annual Report of the Northern Province of the Northern Territories for the Year 1921. p.14.)
150. NAG-A. ADM 63/5/1. Navrongo District Record Book, 9-10-1908, p.80.
151. *Ibid.* pp.87-89, 371. Entries on 20,21-2-26 commend Kayoro for their excellent road work and supplying Navrongo with 300 "steaks" (sic). By April 1927 they cleared a large section of the road between Chiana and Nakong and took 19 pieces of timber to Chiana - "A heavy job." The Chief was rewarded with a present from the Chief Commissioner for his good work (1-12-1927). In 1929, the Chief complained that Ngwombio clan-settlement refused to work. In June 1936, Kayoro no longer had to work on the Lawra road, which is the western side of the Sissili river, but by 1939 they had built a 24 km motorable road from Katiu to Kayoro with the use of Native Administration funds. (NAG-A. ADM 63/5/8. Informal Diary, 4-1-39 and NAG-T. NRG 8/3/83. Annual Report Navrongo, 1938-39, p.9.)
152. NAG-A ADM 56/1/2. Report on recent tour in Frafra. Ag. Chief Commissioner, Gambaga to Ag. Col. Sec., 25-5-1905.
153. NAG-A. ADM 63/5/1. Navrongo District Record Book, p.146, and NAG-A. ADM 63/5/8. Informal Diary, 28-1-40.
154. WFD:23-4-1932.

155. NAG-T. NRG 6/3/1. Annual Report Navrongo Area, 1934/35, p.15.
156. NAG-T. NRG 8/3/83. Annual Report Navrongo, 1938-39, p.37.
157. *Ibid*, p.6.
158. NAG-T. NRG 8/3/111. Annual Report on Navrongo District for the Year 1940-1941, pp.2,8.
159. NAG-A. ADM 63/5/10. Informal Diary. 7-2-1955.
160. NAG-A. ADM 56/1/5. *NT Annual Report*, 1908.
161. NAG-A. ADM 5/1/70. *NT Annual Report*, 1937-1938, p.21.
162. R.Bening, "Colonial development policy in northern Ghana, 1898-1950," *Bulletin of the Ghana Geographical Association*, 1975, 17, pp.65,66.
163. Lynn, *Agriculture in North Mamprusi*, p.3.
164. NAG-A. ADM 5/1/70. *NT Annual Report*, 1937-1938, p.3.
165. *Ibid*.
166. NAG-A. ADM 56/1/1. *NT Annual Report*, 1899.
167. NAG-A. ADM 56/1/19. *NT Annual Report*, 1901 p.244.
168. WFD:6-10-1907.
169. NAG-A. ADM 56/1/5. *NT Annual Report*, 1908.
170. NAG-A. ADM 56/1/4. Ag. CCNT to Capt. B.Taylor, 29-9-1906.
171. NAG-A. ADM 5/1/15. No. 530. *NT Annual Report*, 1906, p.9.
172. NAG-A. ADM 56/1/9. CCNT to Ag. Col. Secretary, 2-12-1909.
173. WFD:15-11-1913 and 28-6-13.
174. NAG-A. ADM 56/1/9. CCNT to Col. Secretary, 3-9-1909.
175. NAG-A. ADM 56/1/473. *NT Annual Report*, 1913.
176. NAG-A. ADM 56/1/486. *NT Annual Report*, 1916, p.12.
177. NAG-A. ADM 63/5/1. Navrongo District Record Book, 20-5-1917, pp.64,142.
178. WFD:31-7-1917.

179. NAG-A. ADM 63/5/3. Navrongo Station District Diary, 1 October 1913 - 7 January 1921, p.44.
180. NAG-A. ADM 56/1/489. *NT Annual Report*, 1918, p.3.
181. *Ibid*, p.26.
182. R.Thomas, "Forced Labour in British West Africa: The Case of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast 1906-1927," *Journal of African History*, 1973, 14, pp.99,100.
183. NAG-A. ADM 56/1/281. 22-11-1923, Diary of Ag. Commissioner Northern Province for November, 1923.
184. Thomas, "Forced Labour," p.103.
185. NAG-T. NRG 8/3/83. Annual Report Navrongo, 1938-39, p.23.
186. Fortes, *The Dynamics of Clanship*, p.7.
187. Chiana provided 31; Kayoro 5; Nakong 4 and Katiu 14. NAG-A. ADM 63/5/1. Navrongo District Record Book, pp.146,414,436 and NAG-A. ADM 63/5/10. Informal Diary. 13-2-1939.
188. NAG-A. ADM 63/5/8. Informal Diary, 16-10-1939.
189. NAG-A. ADM 56/1/61. Confidential letter, p.1.
190. NAG-A. ADM 56/1/471. Annual Report on the North-Eastern Province of the Northern Territories for 1913.
191. NAG-A. ADM 56/1/278. Provincial Commissioner (Prov.com.,). Navrongo to DC Lawra-Tumu, 8-5-1923. Prov. Com. Navrongo to CCNT, 21-6-1923. CCNT to Ag. Com. Northern Province, Navrongo, 28-1-1929.
192. NAG-A. ADM 56/1/278. "French Subjects - From 1919-1928."
193. NAG-A. ADM 63/5/1. Navrongo District Record Book, February 1934, p.371.
194. WFD:24-2-1924.
195. NAG-A. ADM 56/1/278. A.E.Kitson, Geological Survey to Col. Sec., Accra, 4-6-1929. DC North Mamprussi to Comm. Northern Province, Navrongo, 12-8-1929.
196. Pers. com., Thomas Petwotigi Alira, Pwalugu, 4-5-1992. Pewotigi gave details of what the tax involved. He stated: "When they farmed groundnuts and millet, they [French authorities] brought 'garawa' (small barrel) and if you have 4 or 5 people you contribute 2 garawa each so the government keeps the food and if hunger comes in a year, they use the food to help people. Because of that suffering we could not stay

there. If they called you and told you 'tomorrow 7 o'clock you are wanted at Kampama' [for work], if you are one minute late, they make you lie down and beat you on your back ... Many people ran away because of that suffering not because of food. ... Our fathers saw that if they remained there, hunger would catch them. So they came here. However, its not that hunger was there all the time, but it was the way they collected the things."

197. NAG-A. ADM 56/1/463. 1911 N-E Province.

198. WFD:16-9-1920.

199. WFD:30-11-1915, 22-12-1915, 28-1-1916.

200. WFD:1-6-1926.

201. NAG-A. ADM 5/1/67. *NT Annual Report*, 1928-1929, p.3.

202. NAG-T. NRG 8/3/57. Annual Report on the Navrongo District for the Year ending 31st March, 1930, p.19.

203. NAG-A. ADM 5/1/68. *NT Annual Report*, 1929-30, p.15.

204. Fortes, *The Dynamics of Clanship*, p.190.

205. NAG-A. ADM 5/1/68. *NT Annual Report*, 1929-30, p. 15.

206. I.Acquah, *Accra Survey*, London, University of London Press, 1958, p.103.

207. R.Kasanga and M.Avis, *Internal Migration and Urbanisation in Developing Countries: Findings from a Study of Ghana*, University of Reading, Research Papers in Land Management and Development. Environmental Policy No.1., 1988, p.67.

208. *The Gold Coast, Census of Population 1948*, Report and Tables, Accra, Gold Coast, 1950.

209. *Population Census of Ghana 1960*, Special Report 'E', Tribes in Ghana, Census Office, Accra, 1964. Many Kasena living outside the Kasena-Nankana area may have registered themselves as "Grusi" and 31.6 percent of the Grusi are recorded living outside the Northern Region. "Grusi" included, Mo, Vagala, Sisala, Kasena and Grusi.

210. K.Ewusi, *Rural-Urban and Regional Migration in Ghana*, Legon, Institute of Statistical and Economic Research, University of Ghana. Discussion Paper No.1., 1977, p.21. The Upper Region had not been divided into Upper West and West Regions.

211. *Ibid*, p.14.

212. GEC, *National Church Survey*, p.119.

213. J.Nabila, *Urbanization in Ghana*, Population Impact Project, Ghana, 1987, p.4.

214. On the Frafra: J. Nabila, *The Migration of the Frafra of Northern Ghana: A Case Study of Cyclical Labour Migration in West Africa*. Michigan State University, Ph.D., 1974. also J.Hart, "Migration and the Opportunity Structure: A Ghanaian Case-Study," in S.Amin (ed), *Modern Migrations in Western Africa*, London, Oxford University Press, 1974. On the Kusasi: D.Cleveland, "Migration in West Africa: A Savanna Village Perspective," *Africa*, 1991, 61, pp.222-246. On the Wa area and northerners in Techiman and Obuasi: R.Kasanga and M.Avis, *Internal Migration*.
215. Cleveland, "Migration in West Africa," p.239.
216. E.Engmann, "Migration and population in Northern Ghana: a note on methodology," *Bulletin of the Ghana Geographical Association*, 1975, 17, p.43.
217. NAG-A. ADM 56/1/512. Annual Report on the Navrongo District, Northern Territories for the Year ending, 31st March, 1928, pp.1,6.
218. WFD:2-6-1928.
219. WFD:12-9-1953 and 15-11-1953.
220. Nabila, *The Migration of the Frafra*, p.115, 116. Nabila found that approximately 65 percent of migrants at destination and 75 percent of intending migrants listed this as the most important reason for migrating.
221. *Ibid*, p.33.
222. *Ibid*, pp.115,116,118.
223. *Ibid*, pp.146,150,183.
224. Kasanga and Avis *Internal Migration*, p.i.
225. *Ibid*, p.42.
226. *Ibid*, p.50.
227. Hart, "Migration and Opportunity Structure," p.323.
228. Nabila, *The Migration of the Frafra*, pp.129. 142.
229. F.Migeod, "Tribal Mix on the Gold Coast," *Journal of the Africa Society*, 1920, 19, p.120.
230. Gagnon, *Moeurs et Coutumes*, p.45.
231. K.Prah, "The Northern Minorities in the Gold Coast of Ghana," *Race and Class*, 1975, 16, p.311.

232. Ladouceur, *Chiefs and Politicians*, p.49. Awedoba also regrets that Kasena sometimes conspicuously spend most of their hard earned wages on alcohol and other city type pleasure with the result that they contribute little to the domestic economy. However, a few do contribute small amounts. (Awedoba, *Aspects of Wealth and Exchange*, pp.200-201.) I have personally observed both situations.
233. Cleveland, "Migration in West Africa," p.239.
234. Kasanga and Avis, *Internal Migration*, p.6.
235. Nabila, *The Migration of the Frafra*, pp.280,289.
236. *Ibid*, p.170.
237. Koetting, *Continuity and Change*, p.276.
238. Nabila, *The Migration of the Frafra*, p.264. Amin considers all the West African urban population are immigrants because the urban populations continue to maintain strong links with their rural origins." Amin, *Modern Migrations*, p.66.
239. Nabila, *The Migration of the Frafra*, pp.148,149, 278. Nabila found almost all visits were linked with familial responsibilities such as funerals, performance of sacrifices, assisting with farming and attending other festivities. Kasanga and Avis found more than half of the returned migrants interviewed, did so because of family responsibilities (Kasanga and Avis, *Internal Migration*, p.57.)
240. Kasanga and Avis, *Internal Migration*, p.61.
241. Koetting, *Continuity and Change*, pp.292, 295.
242. L.Brydon, "The Avatime family and circulation 1900-1977," in R.Prothero and M.Chapman, *Circulation in Third World Countries*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1985, pp.206-225. John Nabila told R.Mansell Prothero that "some Ghanaians are designated 'NGBs' (Never Go Backs): those who consider they have severed connexions with their local communities, yet who 'will in the end go back, either their bodies for burial, or even without this return home would be recognized by those who would perform funeral celebrations in places of birth whether or not their bodies were returned'." (R.Mansell Prothero, "The context of circulation in West Africa," in M.Chapman and R.M.Prothero (eds), *Circulation in Population Movement: the Melanesian Case*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1985, p.411.)
243. D.Aronson, *The City is our farm: Seven migrant Ijebu Yoruba Families*, Boston, Hall, 1978, p.186.
244. *Ibid*, p.184.
245. Kasanga and Avis, *Internal Migration*, p.58.

246. Nabila, *The Migration of the Frafra*, p.291.
247. *Ibid*, p.296.
248. Archer, *Culture and Agency*, p.218.
249. GEC, Greater Accra Regional Church/Evangelism Survey, Accra North, GEC, 1986, p.1/3.
250. GEC *National Church Survey*, p.119.
251. Dickson and Benneh, *A New Geography of Ghana*, p.38.
252. NAG-T. NRG 8/3/83. Annual Report Navrongo, 1938-39, p.44.
253. Dickson and Benneh, *A New Geography of Ghana*, p.38.
254. *Ibid*, p.12.
255. NAG-T. NRG 8/3/145. Annual Report for Navrongo District 1945-1946, p.6.
256. G.Benneh, "Population, disease and rural development programmes in the Upper East Region of Ghana," in J.Clarke, M.Khogali and L.Kosinski (eds), *Population and development projects in Africa*, London, Cambridge University Press, 1985, p.207
257. WFD:Nov 1942.
258. Poor harvests from lack or excess rainfall were reported in 1910, 1912, 1914-1916, 1917, 1918, 1922, 1927-29, 1939, 1942, 1952-53, 1975-1977. I personally observed crops failures in 1983-84 and 1989-90. (NAG-A. ADM Nos. 56/1/443, 56/1/463, 56/1/471, 56/1/493, 56/1/512, 63/5/1, 63/5/8, for Annual Reports.)
259. Lynn, *Agriculture in North Mamprusi*, pp.34 ff.
260. NAG-A. ADM 5/1/70. *NT Annual Report*, 1937-38 p.41.
261. NAG-A. ADM 63/5/1. 7-5-09. Navrongo District Record Book, p.61.
262. NAG-A. ADM 63/5/1. 7-5-1909. *Ibid*, p.61. In September 1909, Berkeley recorded: "The above reprehensible practice seems to have been stopped; in fact one would suspect that the above headmen were using their alleged supernatural gifts in the contrary direction, as I approached the town through miles of flooded country."
263. NAG-T. NRG 8/3/57. Annual Report on the Navrongo District for the Year ending 31st March, 1930, p.2. NAG-A. ADM 63/5/6. Informal Diary, 1/6/30 - 27/11/33, p.12.

264. NAG-A. ADM 63/5/1. Navrongo District Record Book, pp.146,371,404. NAG-A. ADM 63/5/6. Informal Diary, pp.13, 284. NAG-T. NRG 6/3/1. Annual Report Navrongo Area 1934/35, p.57-59.

265. Nabila, *The Migration of the Frafra*, p.75.

266. NAG-A. ADM 56/1/464. *NT Annual Report*, 1912, p.11.

267. NAG-T. NRG 8/3/93. Report upon Agricultural Activities in North Mamprusi for the Month of May 1935.

268. NAG-A. ADM 5/1/70. *NT Annual Report*, 1937-38, p.41.

269. Lynn, *Agriculture in North Mamprusi*, p.36.

270. *Ibid*, p.11.

271. *Ibid*, p.42.

272. *Fera/i*. This is the top part of the millet stalk just under the millet head. Kasena cut the grain head off and use the top piece of the stalk as a measuring stick.

273. Four farmers used them: 2 in Navrongo, and the chiefs of Nakong and Sandema. (NAG-T. NRG 8/3/83. Annual Report Navrongo, 1938-39, p.43.)

274. In the 1919 famine, people told A.Cardinall that "had it not been for white man's presence, which provided safety in travelling to more favoured parts, they would have had to sell their own offspring." (Cardinall, *Natives of the Northern Territories*, p.74.) Fr. Gagnon also referred to people selling children in times of famine because markets hardly existed. He tells of strangers coming into the region during famine to exchange children for millet. "Un jeune garçon se vendait environ la somme requise pour trente kilos de millet." (Gagnon, *Moeurs et Coutumes*, p.46.) During fieldwork, an older woman told me that she had lived for part of her life with a man who had been exchanged as a child for food. She said he did not want people to know this because he felt such shame about it. Awedoba points out that a family which pawned their child, could later claim the child back if the family returned the food with interest. (Awedoba, *Aspects of Wealth and Exchange*, p.261.)

275. NAG-T. NRG 8/3/83. Annual Report Navrongo, 1938-39, p.23.

276. NAG-T. NRG 8/3/145. 1945-46 Navrongo Report, p.6.

277. J.Hunter, "Seasonal Hunger in a part of the West African Savanna: A Survey of Bodyweights in Nongodi, North-East Ghana," *Institute of British Geographers Publications*, 1967, 41, pp.181-182.

278. Yams were brought up from the south in 1953 to relieve the severe food shortage and it became known as the "year of the yams". Seven years previously it was

- referred to as the "year of the corn". (WFD:1-10-1952, 12-9-1953 and 15-11-1953)
279. NAG-A. ADM 63/5/8. Informal Diary, 8,13-3-39.
280. Benneh, "Population, disease and rural development programmes," p.213.
281. Dickson and Benneh, *A New Geography of Ghana*, p.20.
282. ADM 5/1/16. No. 566. *NT Annual Report*, 1907, p.18.
283. NAG-A. ADM 56/1/491. *NT Annual Report*, 1919, p.17.
284. NAG-A. ADM 56/1/473. *NT Annual Report*, 1913. Fr. Gagnon reported that small pox had wiped out whole villages from Navrongo to Tumu. (Gagnon, *Moeurs et Coutumes*, pp.120,121).
285. NAG-A. ADM 56/1/491. Annual Report - North-Eastern Province, Year 1919, p.10. This was in contrast to only 2,300 in Bawku and 913 reported deaths in Gambaga. Both the lack of clothing worn by people and their practice of moving out from extremely hot flat-roofed buildings to sit in the cold contributed to the high death rate in the District. (NAG-A. ADM 56/1/489. *NT Annual Report*, 1918, pp.18,19. NAG-A. ADM 56/1/491. *NT Annual Report*, 1919, p.10.)
286. Cardinall, *Natives of the Northern Territory*, p.105.
287. NAG-A. ADM 56/1/491. Annual Report - N-E Province, 1919, p.23.
288. T.Hilton, "Depopulation and Population Movement in the Upper Region of Ghana," *Bulletin of the Ghana Geographical Association*, 1966, 11, p.30.
289. B.Waddy (MOH), Onchocerciasis and blindness in the Northern Territories (typescript), Kintampo, 1951), referred to in T.Hilton, *Ibid*, p.37.
290. *Ibid*.
291. Benneh, "Population, disease and rural development programmes," pp.215-217.
292. Awia, *Navrongo and its Pioneers*, p. 30.
293. Gagnon, *Moeurs et Coutumes*, p.59.
294. Dittmer, *Die sakralen Häuptlinge der Gurunsi*, p.164.
295. O.Kalu, "Church Presence in Africa: A Historical Analysis of the Evangelization Process," in K.Appiah-Kubi and S.Torres, *African Theology En Route*, Papers from the Pan-African Conference of Third World Theologians, Dec. 17-23, 1977, Accra Ghana. Maryknoll, Orbis Books, 1979, p.17.

CHAPTER THREE

FAMILY LIFE, PROBLEM RESOLUTION AND BELIEF

The Kasena attempt to solve many of the problems outlined in the previous chapter within the framework of the family. Families interpret new ideas and experiences which enter their auditorium in the context of their survival. The Kasena family extends beyond the concept of the nuclear family; a complex set of relationships exist which interweave through each Kasena community and because of exogamous marriage also have an impact on other communities. The purpose of this chapter is to understand the nature of the Kasena family and the part family organisation plays in their world. The first part describes the Kasena family structure; the second section explores the way they seek to survive in their environment, to resolve some of their problems and clarify issues; and third, to discover from this the Kasena ideas and beliefs about life and the transcendental realm, as well as the way the Kasena interact socially. The description primarily relates to the Kasena of Chiana, Katiu, Kayoro and Nakong.

1. The Kasena Family

(1) *Sɔŋɔ*¹ - The Compound of Birth

When Kasena communities are viewed from the air, the predominately dispersed nature of the compounds is immediately apparent. Houses are more clustered around market places, especially in the town of Navrongo. Large compounds contain 70 to 200 people; these are either very old or wealthy compounds.²

a. The visual appearance of the *sɔŋɔ*

Every *sɔŋɔ* is composed of a series of round or rectangular rooms³ mostly flat-roofed, joined in a circular fashion to form the outer wall of the *sɔŋɔ* (Figure 6). Two circular rooms are built with a single small entrance through the *diga-pɔrɔ* (outer



Figure 6. A new compound being built.



Figure 7. The *diga-pərɔ* and connecting *diga-yugu*. A *lira kambia* lies at the junction of the two rooms.

room) and from it a low entrance to the *diga-yugu* (inner room) (Figure 7). The only source of light in the *diga-yugu* is from a small hole in the roof, which is covered during rain. All the rooms face inwards and low walls separate them from the central part of the compound where cattle and sheep are kept at night and the granaries for millet are built. Rooms associated with each domestic unit in the compound are separated by waist high walls. The major entrance to every compound is on the western side.⁴ A small *puga* (shelter) is often built outside the house where the househead and other men sit for discussion and visitors are greeted.

The *jona*⁵ (shrines) of founders of the *sɔŋɔ* are usually built outside the main entrance. Inside the cattle yard and in the courtyards of some rooms are the graves of those who died in old age.⁶ *Jona* for differing purposes are located in other parts of the *sɔŋɔ*. *Kambia* (round pots) containing *lira* (medicine) can be located at the base of the *diga-pɔɔ* wall, on the roof of the *diga-yugu* or outside the front entrance. Many people build their *wɛ/woa* (personal guardian shrines)⁷ inside the *diga-pɔɔ* located adjacent to a wall. Objects hang on walls of rooms - photos, pictures from magazines, papers, but also other *lira* or some *jona*.

The courtyards outside the rooms are the locations of most female activity; food preparation and cooking; weaving and other household tasks. Rooms are mainly used to store possessions and sleep in when it is too cold to sleep outside. One feature of most Kasena compounds is that they are scrupulously clean.⁸

b. The *sɔŋɔ tiina* (house people): present, travelled and departed

The *sɔŋɔ tiina* refers to those physically present in the house and to those away from home. Although death removes a person from sight, the departed also remain actively present within the *sɔŋɔ*. The Kasena distinguish between the *chiru/a*⁹ (recent departed) and the *nabaaro/a* (founding ancestor) of the area. Although *chira* are the people in the ground, they take care of the *sɔŋɔ*. The departed are underneath, but yet on top of the house watching over everything in the house. Larger compounds are composed of the *sɔŋɔ tu* (househead), his wives, sons, their wives and children;

possibly his brothers, their wives, sons and families; unmarried daughters, or daughters who for some reason have left their husbands' houses and returned to live in their father's house. Small compounds often have a man, his wife (wives) and children.¹⁰ A man usually refers to his wife/wives and children as his *diga nia* (room people).¹¹ The *diga nia* usually work together to produce their livelihood. The head of that group is responsible for distributing food to its members from the granary. They assist in the work of other sections of the house (farming, building) and will co-operate with the whole house when burial or funeral rites are performed.¹² If a man's father or father's brothers are still alive, they assist in this work as well.

(i) *Kwoa* (fathers) and *bia* (children)

A child refers to his or her father, father's brothers and others of their generation as *kwo* (father).¹³ A man's own children as well as his brother's and sister's children and his wife's brother's and sister's children are his *bia*. Traditionally, a brother gave the eldest male and female child to a brother in a *boore* (exchange - fostering) arrangement. If the brother had children he would reciprocate. Awedoba points out that formerly the children would have lived in the brother's domestic unit.¹⁴ The brother is responsible for everything to do with the child especially with respect to marriage arrangements. The brothers also *boore* the first animals they own or even possessions bought in the south.¹⁵ Today brothers only *boore* when the *voro* (diviner) shows it should be done to avoid difficulties.¹⁶ However, people still do foster their children to brothers and sisters to help fulfil needs in domestic areas or herding.¹⁷ Children are the possession of the father and the *sɔŋɔ*, so if a mother removes a child from the *sɔŋɔ*, the *sɔŋɔ tu* has the right to bring the child back to his house. The first born children of a man and his wife have a significant role in family life, especially in the performance of parents' funeral rites.

(ii) *Nu/niina* (mothers) and *kaane/a* (wives)

A child's mother and all his or her father's wives, the wives of the father's brothers and the father's sisters are called *nu*.¹⁸ When a woman marries into her husbands' *sɔŋɔ* she also becomes the *kaane* of his brothers and sisters. Frequently she

takes over the cooking from her mother-in-law, although women often share the task. Her children as full siblings are *chouro zoo*.¹⁹ The Kasena also speak of their *chourro* whom Awedoba defines as all those "whose mothers are agnates to that person's mother."²⁰ Normally inheritance is patrilineal, but one aspect of inheritance passes through the female line. Kasena believe that there are people whose eyes have the power to "see" the *joro*²¹ (soul/spirit) of a person and those who do not. *Chero/a* (this is normally translated into English as "witch/es") are one of the categories of people with this power to "see" the souls of others, but they destroy those they "see" through the consumption of their souls.²² If a woman "sees", so will all her children. However, this faculty is inherited by birth only from daughters and not passed on through the sons. Awedoba who uses the same term *choro*²³ for both "witch" and "relative", concludes "It is not by pure coincidence that the term *choro* means both 'witchcraft' and maternal siblingship".²⁴ Thus marrying a woman who "sees", risks introducing "witchcraft" into a *sɔŋɔ* and family.²⁵

In a *sɔŋɔ* there is a senior woman who presides over the other women in the house. She oversees the care of things of ritual value often kept in her *diga-pɔrɔ*. She also has a strategic role in most of the major events related to life in the house.

(iii) The *sɔŋɔ tu* (househead)

The *sɔŋɔ tu* is responsible for the care of his people. If he is a wise man he seeks guidance from his brothers and also from the *vorɔ* (diviner). A child will also observe the *sɔŋɔ tu* addressing what appear to be objects as living beings or merely sitting by himself in a room talking out loud to someone invisible. He calls their names or refers to *a kwo* (my father), *a nu* (my mother) as he informs the departed of events in the house or seeks their help.²⁶ He is an advisor, settling internal disputes and concerned for correct behaviour of the *sɔŋɔ tiina*. His power to enforce correct behaviour is sanctioned by his ritual power. He regulates the rituals related to the whole house and he is the only one who has the right to *kaane jona*²⁷ (sacrifice at shrines) and communicate with the departed in the *sɔŋɔ*, except where an individual man has personal *jona* related to *liri* ("medicine"). Although his power to enforce

moral behaviour in recent years has lessened, it was much stronger in the past contrary to the inaccurate picture the British administration portrayed of the *sɔŋɔ tu*. They claimed that it was "rare to find the head of a family ever treated with respect by his sons after they have once reached a certain age."²⁸ Awedoba suggests this is a misconception because those in a person's father's generation are revered, especially their own parents.²⁹ As children grow in the *sɔŋɔ*, they are taught to respect their parents and from a young age are made to participate in the activities of the house. The *sɔŋɔ tu* also represents the *sɔŋɔ* in external situations.

Therefore, the *sɔŋɔ* is the auditorium in which many Kasena children first hear and perceive how they are to behave in life. As they grow they become aware of the members of the house and the objects around them. They then learn to relate to the *sɔŋɔ tiina* (present, departed and travelled) and their associated symbols, through the events which occur in their *sɔŋɔ*. As children begin to move around they learn that neither their *sɔŋɔ* nor their family are isolated from the outside world.

(2) The *sɔŋɔ* as the extended family

When a *sɔŋɔ tu* dies, the land is inherited by his younger brothers or sons and divided between them. If land is insufficient or the inherited portions too small to support the families of all the sons, then younger brother(s) may move out to another location far enough from other houses to have their own farm land around the *sɔŋɔ*, but as close as possible to the ancestral home. It is this which causes the dispersed pattern of housing. J. Hunter argues that although the agricultural system and the clan system are the two major determinants of the dispersed pattern of housing, the lineage system is the primary factor.³⁰ Fission begins with the death of the *sɔŋɔ tu*, but also occurs for other reasons, such as:³¹ the desire to live nearer a main road to sell pito (millet beer); overcrowding in a *sɔŋɔ*; extensive rain damage to a *sɔŋɔ* necessitating a change in site; witchcraft accusations forcing a person out;³² and, a large number of deaths in a *sɔŋɔ*.³³

Where a *sɔŋɔ* divides, the *didogo* (old 'room'), standing or in ruins, remains a sacred place as the ancestral home and the burial place of the fathers. The clustering of compounds stemming out of a *didogo* form a minor lineage or 'extended family', even when they are not all in close proximity. The members from the extended family still identify themselves as members of one *sɔŋɔ*. They are *nyenabia* or *kwobia* (father's children)³⁴ and there is usually a *sayugu* (principal house). If descendants of *bukɔ bia* (sisters' children) return and build their own *sɔŋɔ* and join their *kwobia*, there can then be several *sayuni*.³⁵ Each house is economically independent, but the extended family is close knit and its members join together for many activities.

The 1907 *NT Annual Report* claimed that as a result of the slave trade, people obeyed no one and each compound was more or less a "law unto itself".³⁶ Ladouceur correctly argues this was not the case, as every compound was part of a patrilineage and the lineage head was "socially and ritually responsible for the behaviour of all members of the lineage."³⁷ The extended family, *kwobia*, is headed by the *sayugu tu* ('principal compound head) or *nakwe tu* (elder). He does not have economic power over other houses, nor does he directly control the members of all the houses. However, he controls the *nabaare* (ancestral shrine) for the extended family and also has a powerful role in performance of burials and funerals. If a man disagrees with him, shows disrespect, or refuses to *kaane jona*, it can result in the *nakwe tu* refusing to allow the burial of the "wrong-doer's" wife or child.³⁸ This is a powerful sanction.

(3) *Nagura* and the clan-settlement

As a result of the family fission process and Kasena building new compounds, what were originally a few extended families or minor lineages have become *nagura* (major lineages). Where a number of these lineages are linked together by a founding *nabaaro*, they now form what Awedoba refers to as a "clan-settlement".³⁹ Some clan-settlements also incorporate "adopted" lineages or lineages descended from a *bukɔ* (daughter) who had joined with the authentic settler lineages. These "adopted" or *bukɔ* lineages are incorporated under the same founding ancestor. Whatever the

composition of the clan-settlement, and some are exceedingly complex, there is always an individual ancestor and founder of that clan-settlement.

a. The *nagura*

Originally all clan-settlements would have been a *nagura* and some still are today.⁴⁰ The *nagura* is defined by the group of houses that "kill a cow and share it amongst themselves" when they *kaane* a cow (*naao-gura*)⁴¹ to the *nabaaro*. Therefore, when the family grows too large to adequately share the cow between them, they subdivide and form a new *nagura*. Those in the *nagura* are *kwobia* (father's children). Each *nagura* is headed by a *nakwe tu* (elder) who oversees ritual activity related to matters which affect the group. If someone hears from the *voro* that the *nabaaro* has appeared and wants something, then all the houses of the *nagura* come together to *kaane jona*. When the cow is divided, each *sɔŋɔ tu* is given a particular part of the cow depending on his position in the *nagura*.

b. The Clan-settlement

According to Awedoba, there is no single term in Kasem for the clan-settlement, but he argues that the word *daa* can be used as *daa* is polysemous meaning sub-division, side or flank.⁴² The names of both *nagura* and clan-settlements are usually derived from the name of the *nabaaro* who first settled the area which implies they evolved from an individual *sɔŋɔ*.⁴³ Thus the names of the *nabaara* are perpetuated in the memory of the family and they are physically reminded of them through the existence of the *nabaare*. Not all *nagura* have a *nabaare* built, but all clan-settlements do.

Clan-settlements have external boundaries usually marked by some formation such as a stream bed, road or series of rocks, but there are usually no internal boundaries distinguishing one *nagura* from another, although the major lineages tend to occupy specific areas. However, houses are intermingled especially if the members of a *sɔŋɔ* suspect agnates in the extended family of being *chera* and thus move their house away from them. Occasionally, a *sɔŋɔ* may even be built outside of its clan-

settlement for similar reasons or because of some other type of disturbance. Even if a *sɔŋɔ* is physically removed from its *nagura* or clan-settlement, it is still unified with its related compounds through the *nabaare*. Awedoba suggests the clan-settlement is "a ritual parish in which the cult of the founding ancestor has an important place in community worship."⁴⁴

c. The clan-settlement and *nagura* as family

The clan-settlement is the exogamous group and marriage is forbidden if the ties of being related through the same *nabaaro* are proved. Even at this level the terminology of intimate family is still used by its members to refer to one another: father, mother, brother, child, daughter and son. Thus, you call your brother's wives, "wife". This means a man cannot marry even the divorced wife of a "brother".

The lineages within the clan-settlement descended from the one *nabaaro* are *kwobia*. One *nagura* in the clan-settlement usually controls the ritual and leadership. The *nakwe tu* is responsible for the *nabaare*. There is also a *tega tu* (land guardian) and in some areas a *tangwam tu* (earth shrine guardian),⁴⁵ but often one person performs both functions. The *nakwia tiina* (elders) are responsible for the welfare of their clan-settlement. When issues arise which are likely to affect the *nagura* or clan-settlement, they must follow correct procedures to ameliorate the situation.

(4) Women and their family

A woman's family life revolves around three groups: (i) her *kwo sɔŋɔ* where she is a *bukɔ* (daughter) and a *kadiko* (married daughter of the lineage) and the *chourro* of her clan-settlement; (ii) her *baro sɔŋɔ* (husband) where she is a wife and mother, and (iii) her *nabera sɔŋɔ* (uncle) where she relates to her own mother's brother's house. When a girl is born into the *sɔŋɔ*, her position as a *bukɔ* and her ties to her agnates home usually remain strong throughout her life. After marriage and moving to her *baro sɔŋɔ*, she continues to play a role in her *kwo sɔŋɔ*, moving backwards and forwards between two extended families. As *kadiko* she may be called

upon to perform special duties for her father's lineage. There are also occasions when her son is called to mediate in disputes within his mother's clan-settlement.

A woman is not entitled to inherit land in either her husband's or father's clan-settlement. However, her father's *səŋə tiina* would never refuse to give her and her children a place to settle, or land to farm. For her children, her brother's *səŋə* is their *nabera səŋə* (uncle). The children always have a right to claim a chicken as their own from their *nabera*.⁴⁶ Even adults today will still remove a hen when they go there. The *nabera səŋə* also provides a place of refuge for a man if there is cause to leave his own clan-settlement because of accusation of being a *chero* or through fear of a *chero* catching the soul of a family member, or some other disturbance. The reason Awedoba gave for this security with the *nabera* is that the mother's family cannot "bewitch" a man.⁴⁷ Furthermore, as a man's *nabera* and his sons or the sons of his sister are removed from close proximity and intimate family life, they do not usually compete for resources. Thus they provide companionship for a man when he seeks guidance from a *voro* and does not wish his *səŋə* people to be aware of the outcome.⁴⁸

A woman develops a network of support and friendship with her *chourro*,⁴⁹ even though they are a scattered group. These bonds become particularly strong if two women from one clan-settlement, marry men in the same clan-settlement. When she is in appropriate settings with them she refers to her female agnates as "sister", "daughter" or "female father".⁵⁰

When a man marries a woman, his relationship to his *tembaara* (in-laws) is more formal than within his own extended family. He should be extremely respectful to his bride's parents in contrast to the more relaxed interpersonal relationships with his *kwobia*.⁵¹ He interacts with four groups of the family: (i) his *kwo səŋə* and the extended aspects of it; (ii) his wife's *kwo səŋə* (in-laws); (iii) his *nabera səŋə* where he has the role of *kadiko bu*; and (iv) the compounds into which his sisters have married and their clan-settlements.

(5) The family in the *teo*

When a loosely-knit group of clan-settlements in a community share an ancestor from a group of ancestors who moved into an area, such as in Chiana or Katiu, they are under the authority of a Paramount chief. A community of this size is referred to as a *teo*, although the term can be used to describe both larger and smaller territorial units.⁵² The functions of a Paramount chief are administrative and judicial and his authority is spiritually sanctioned through the *kwara*.⁵³ He oversees his dispersed community through a hierarchy of chiefs and divisional chiefs. There is a measure of cultural homogeneity in each Kasena *teo* when it is compared with other *teo*. However, people acknowledge differences within each *teo*. For instance, Chiana-Asunia has different burial procedures from those of Chiana-Nyangania.

When Kasena move outside their *teo*, especially when they go south, others from the *teo* are a support group. However, support is not limited to members of the *teo*, for all members of the ethnic group support one another because they are *nubia* (mother's children). Awedoba observes that a person does not joke with *nubia*, but does so with *kwobia*.⁵⁴ Kasena also refer to the Sisala and Gonja as *kwobia*.⁵⁵

The purpose of giving the above details is to illustrate the interwoven nature of family relationships and the application of kin terms to an extensive group of people. This influences Kasena reactions to the problems and issues they face. In the past Kasena subdued individualism. To survive physically and emotionally required cooperation and the size of a problem influenced the proportion of the family network and/or community involved in the solutions. For an individual the *sɔŋɔ tiina* take precedence over any other aspects of family and within the *sɔŋɔ*, a man's *diga nia* (room people) are his key responsibility. It is also within this network of family relationships that a child discovers that the transcendent realm is an intimate part of daily life.⁵⁶ Today, however, Kasena praxis is being disrupted. The very act of sending a child to school means a shepherd or domestic help is lost to the house and the child is exposed to a different set of ideas and ways of doing things.⁵⁷

2. Kasena praxis in the *sɔŋɔ* and community: resolving problems and clarifying issues

In Chapter two we saw the problems and issues which have confronted Kasena within their history and environment. The nature of the problem or issue influences the level at which it is resolved or tackled, whether at individual, *sɔŋɔ*, extended family (*kwobia*), *nagura*, clan-settlement, *teo* level or at a combination of levels. At whatever level, the search for solutions to problems or clarification of issues has traditionally involved interweaving practical, physical measures with spiritual sources. This remains largely the same today.

Much of *sɔŋɔ* life centres around the struggle to survive: producing daily food, collecting water and going to market on market days. Activities such as farming, building and funerals occur at specific times of the year as illustrated in Table 3.

Table 3. Kasena activities occurring each year

Months	Seasons	Activities
January	Dry season	New year
February		House building continues
March		Funerals begin
April		Clearing land
May	Wet season begins	Preparation of ground
June		Planting
July		Weeding
		Crops maturing
August		Protection of crops
September		Early millet harvest
October		All drumming stops
November	Dry season begins	Other
		Harvesting begins
December		Harvest Festival
		People go south for work
		House building begins

There is also an annual exit of people in the dry season who go south seeking work. These activities are often disrupted by unpredictable events: sickness,⁵⁸ an animal getting lost, someone having a bad dream, a new wife being brought in, a dispute in the house and a woman running back to her father's house, or an unexpected death.

A number of problems, issues or events are described below to illustrate how the Kasena attempt to resolve their problems or clarify their issues. The information from this section is based on personal observation and discussion with elders. Where observation was not possible I have relied on what was communicated in discussion. At times the elders describe what is the "ideal" way as reflected in the past.

(1) Birth⁵⁹

In Chapter two we saw evidence in 1919 of a high death rate of children with only 33 percent of those five years of age living until they were ten. Pregnancy, birth and childhood are a precarious time, but crucial for the future of the *sɔŋɔ*. In pregnancy, birth and naming, not only is the individual *sɔŋɔ* involved, but the *sɔŋɔ* of the mother's agnates, a *kadiko* and the extended family.

Most Kasena women give birth in the husband's *sɔŋɔ*, although some may return to their paternal *sɔŋɔ* and some do go to health centres.⁶⁰ The senior women of the *sɔŋɔ* assist a woman deliver her child.⁶¹ When the delivery is completed, the placenta is buried.⁶² The senior woman first bathes the baby and then the mother with hot water to help cleanse out the blood believed to remain in her womb. The *sɔŋɔ tu* is then informed and if he is concerned to protect the mother from the *yisena* ('red eye') person, he makes or collects *yisena teim* ('red eye' medicine) and places a protective *kwara* (horn) on the mothers neck. The mother and the baby are sent to the *diga-yugu* (Figure 8) and stay there for three days if her child is a boy, four if it is a girl.⁶³ Many mothers do not leave the house during the three/four days because they fear a *yisena* person seeing them or the child before "coming out" of the room, and causing sickness or death. Today, not all mothers stay in the *diga-yugu* as some

prefer to stay in their own rooms.

Early on the third/fourth day, a series of events mark the occasion of the mother "coming out of the house". She is led with her eyes covered to the gate of the house by the senior woman. There the *firu* (blowing) takes place in which ash is placed in her hand and she blows three/four times. The *firu* occurs to give the woman to God and protect her from a person coming to the house who could cause sickness. It signifies that she can go out of the house without fear.⁶⁴ The *sɔŋɔ tu* also leaves early in the morning to inquire from the *voro* whether his father (deceased) wants water and /or a fowl. The mother takes ash in a piece of broken pot and some broom straws out to the path that leads to her *kwo sɔŋɔ*. She places straws on the path in the form of a cross, with the ash and piece of broken pot placed on top. The symbol of ash on the ground always shows any stranger coming to the house that a woman at that house has delivered a child and it is also a means of protection.⁶⁵

The senior woman is responsible for collecting two particular types of leaves from the bush. These are boiled in water, a little of the water is then placed in a calabash with a little cool water, and it is poured over the mother three/four times. This ritual is the *swero* (bathing) which purifies the mother and protects her from disease.⁶⁶ After this the baby is bathed in the water.⁶⁷

If a family is a *chichiru dui* ('spirit' family), the family must perform ritual on the third/fourth day. Not all people are *chichiru dua* but those who are influences how a child is given water to drink. Kasena describe two types of *chichirul/chichirru*:

- a. The *chichiru* (evil spirit) a woman gives birth to and is "taken".
- b. The *chichiru* (good spirit, but can harm) which comes from rivers or the bush.

Chichiru dua have a relationship with the latter type of *chichiru* which requires them to collect *chichiru teim* when a mother gives birth to a child and then give the baby water to drink while held in a upright position. A story is told, that in the times of the ancestors women laid their children sideways to give them water.⁶⁸ One woman did this and the child died, so the househead consulted the *voro* to ask why it

happened. The *voro* said, "how you laid the child down and gave the water, he didn't receive it. If the woman delivers again, sit him up and give the water to him and see". The *sɔŋɔ tu* thus discovered the cause, but also saw an alternative which provided opportunity for change. The woman delivered another child and she gave him the water sitting upright. He drank and survived, and so their family gave water to a child seated in an upright position.⁶⁹

In one *chichiru dui* which held *teim*, the househead entered the *diga-pɔrɔ* of his deceased mother who had been responsible for the *chichiru teim* during her life time. He spoke loudly to her: "You should see, they have delivered a child. I want to beg from your place. I give it to the child. That's why I am telling you before I take it. Let the child sleep well and it should not cry." He took some blackened roots from a pot, ground them and mixed the powder with shea nut oil. He wiped the mixture around the inside of a small calabash from which the baby would drink water. He put a + sign on the pot used for cooking the *swero* (bathing), above the entrances to his mother's room and the *diga-yugu* where the baby lay (Figure 9), on the wall into the cattle yard, and then on the outside of the gate entrance to the house.

The senior woman then takes the baby into the *diga-yugu* and leaves him or her there with the calabash containing water. She warns everyone not to climb on the roof. The baby remains there for a while to allow the *chichirru* to enter through the hole in the roof to feed the baby themselves. After a short while the senior woman returns to the *diga-pɔrɔ* and before entering calls out "*a ba naa, a daa a ba na, a ba*" (I come, I again come, I come). The *sɔŋɔ tu* takes a pot of *guli* (millet porridge) to the *joni* at the front of the house. He places some on the *joni* and informs his father that a stranger has come into the house and he should give him *yazura* (well-being).

If a daughter of a *chichiru dui* marries, when she bears children, her husband takes a cock on the day of birth to give the *chichiru teim* and he informs the *chichirru* of the new person in the house. He makes the + on the room so the *chichirru* know which room to enter.⁷⁰ If this ritual with the *chichirru* is not performed, people fear

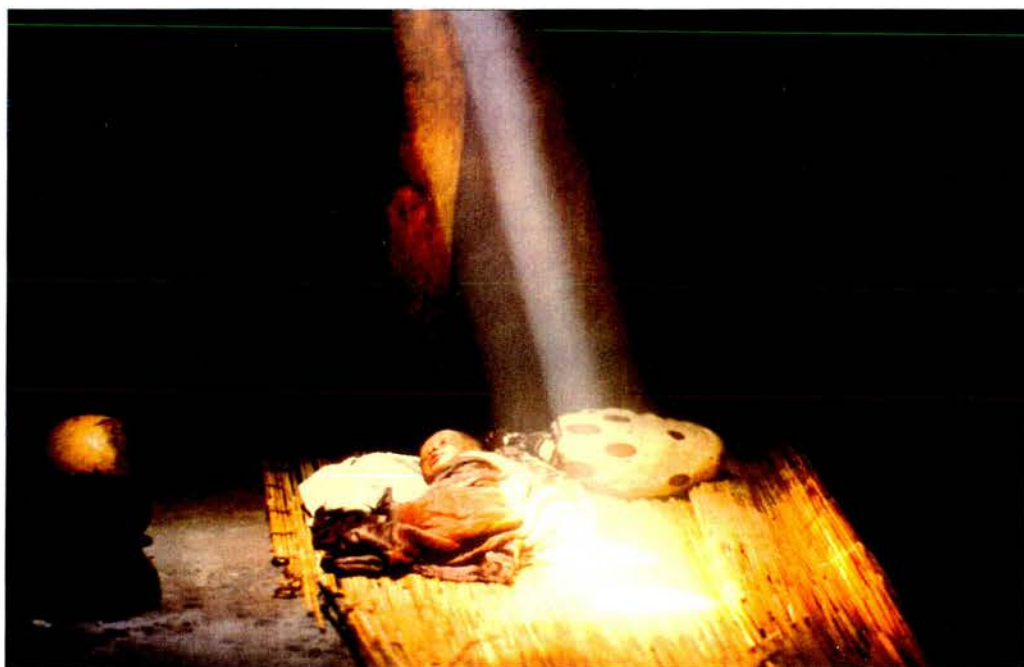


Figure 8. New born child lying in the *diga-yugu*.



Figure 9. The househead making a protective sign against a *yisena* person.

chichirru will come and beat the child and kill the mother.

The time a father first sees his child varies from place to place. In Chiana-Asunia, the father may not see him or her for at least three months or even up to a year in some houses.⁷¹ In other areas, such as Chiana Wurunia, the father sees the child shortly after birth, but if it is his first child, a ritual is performed with ash.⁷²

A tiny child cannot verbally express needs apart from crying and Kasena thus say *busiseḡa ye Wε mo* ('baby is God'). Explanation of this saying varies. Some say it reflects the inability of the child to talk or do anything, thus the child talks with God. Others say the baby knows everything and if a person does evil to the child, he or she would bring harm on that person in the same way God would.⁷³ Therefore, if a small baby cries endlessly, some mothers today may simply request permission to take the child to the clinic, but the *sḡḡ tu* must consult the *vorō* to discover what "holds" the child. There are a number of possibilities.

- a. The child wants a particular water to drink. Someone in the house then must find the specific leaves or roots in the bush to cook and make that water.
- b. The child wants his or her *wε* (personal guardian)⁷⁴ built. The *vorō* comes and builds it where the *wε* designates.⁷⁵ When a girl has grown and married this *wε* will follow her to her husband's house and he will *kaane* for it there. A boy may discover that his father has built his *yugu wε* for him on which he will *kaane* when older.⁷⁶
- c. The child wants *lira* (medicine) already in the *sḡḡ*.

(2) Naming

Everyone in the house calls a baby *Jampana*⁷⁷ and they continue to do this until the child is named. The timing and practices for naming a child vary from place to place and are influenced by factors affecting the child. Some houses name a child shortly after birth. In some clan-settlements (Chiana-Yidania), the *sḡḡ tu* simply decides the name and informs the *sḡḡ tiina* and the fathers (*nyenna*). In many houses, a naming ceremony is performed called the *swεεm*. It is triggered off by the

child becoming unwell. The husband or *sɔŋɔ tu* discovers at the *voro* that a particular divinity or *nabaaro* has chosen the child to be dedicated to it through the *swɛɛm*.

The divinities, spirits or *nabaaro* (or *chiru*) which can select the child include:

- a. The *yugu wɛ* (personal shrine) described above.
- b. A *lira* located already in the *sɔŋɔ*, in the mother's father's *sɔŋɔ* (as in sections of Kalivio), or located in a *liri tu sɔŋɔ* and wanting to be built in the child's *sɔŋɔ*. If the child is to be bathed in *lira* the *voro* will show the type of roots necessary for the *lira*. If the *lira* is to be built, he shows the location.⁷⁸
- c. A *tangwane* (earth shrine) selects the child, the *sɔŋɔ tiina* take the child to the *tangwane*, kill an animal and put the mixture of dirt and blood in a horn and make the *kwara* to be worn on the neck of the child.
- d. A *de* (python) or ancestral shrine to a python "has agreed with" the child and therefore, the child has to be dedicated to the python.⁷⁹
- e. A *nabaaro* or *chiru* (ancestor or "father")

According to Ayaga, the "divinity to which the child is dedicated during the naming ceremony is the 'duga' [*duga*]."⁸⁰ He adds that "the 'duga' is either an ancestor or a spirit depending on which of the two asks that the child be dedicated to it at the moment of the 'suem'. The 'duga' is usually symbolised by a pot which contains some water and some herbs chopped into pieces." The pot is the *lira kambia* (medicine pot). Some Kasena argue that the *lira kambia* is not always used. Instead where a child closely resembles the father a *banga* (bangle) is put on the child's hand or foot to protect the father from being attacked by the child's evil spirit.

All *sɔŋɔ tiina* of the extended family⁸¹ are involved in the *swɛɛm* and a *kadiko* plays a significant role in the ritual.⁸² People believe that whatever divinity the child is dedicated to, it was that spirit or ancestor which brought the child to earth.⁸³ Traditionally not all children were named in association with the performance of the *swɛɛm* ritual.⁸⁴ However, for most children, life begins with a covenant relationship with some spirit or power in the transcendent realm.⁸⁵ The child does not learn the

implications of this until he or she is much older. Throughout life, the spirit or ancestor may "ask" for things and the child is given a symbol to wear as protection.

(3) Providing food and dealing with hunger

Hunger remains an acute problem today especially if a *sɔŋɔ* experiences a poor harvest and has insufficient finances to buy food. Towards the end of the dry season, people start selling fowls and smaller animals to buy food. Women trade or sew if they have machines. They often bear the major responsibility for keeping their children supplied with food, especially if their husbands have gone south or their house has no cattle to sell. If a *sɔŋɔ* has cattle and the *sɔŋɔ tu* decides to sell a cow, he takes flour-water and talks to the *chira*.⁸⁶

If rains are delayed, the *nakwia tiina* of the *nagura* or clan-settlement go to the *tangwam tu*. He uses a fowl to *kaane* the *tangwam* for rain.⁸⁷ During the rains, the *doa tu* (rain shrine custodian) is responsible for regulating rainfall so that neither too much nor too little falls. So from the outset, the severity of the problem influences the level it is dealt with. At *sɔŋɔ* level, when the first heavy rains come before planting, the following morning the *sɔŋɔ tu* takes flour-water, a small calabash of millet seed and a hoe to the *jona* outside the house and there he talks to the *chira*:

The hoe is your hoe. My father, that is your hoe. It has reached and finished. We want to hold your millet and go out and drop it on the ground. I will not deny you this. This is your flour water. Collect it and drink. This is your hoe water. Let us farm with the hoe. Don't let somebody take a hoe and have to put it down with sickness. For we wouldn't deny you and not talk to you while we hold your millet to plant.

The *sɔŋɔ tu* pours the water and places some millet on the shrine.

Crop growth and a good harvest are critical for survival. The use and benefits of fertilizers are now well known, in contrast to the past; but even today they are often not available or affordable.⁸⁸ Crops are also spoilt by people using powers to steal the *joro*⁸⁹ (soul/spirit) of the crop, or by physically stealing the produce. If a *chero* "sees"

the *joro* of the millet and adds it to his own millet, his millet will mature well, but the other man's will only have leaves, or the seeds will be empty.⁹⁰ People thus seek to stand strong *teim* (medicine) in their fields to protect them from being destroyed by the *chero*. Farmers will therefore use *teim* to mark a black cross on a stone standing at a corner of a field or on a piece of broken calabash hanging amongst crops (such as tomatoes). Other *liri* placed in fields cause thieves to contract sickness which no doctor can cure; only a *liri tu* can with appropriate *lira*. Some *liri* immobilise the thief in the field or if a woman steals, she will subsequently give birth to a *chichiru*.⁹¹

People are needed to weed farms and if farmers have the resources, they invite large groups of men from their *nagura* or their in-laws to do the weeding. The farmer invites the *tega tu* (land guardian) to come and *kaane tega* (pour a libation on the earth) for protection from snakes, scorpions, accidents with hoes or even the man's *kwo* from inflicting sickness on them.

After the early millet harvest, people give the *chira* roasted millet and the *sɔŋɔ tu* gives some *guli* to his *kwo* and the *chira*, so that his *kwo* and "all God's children help each other to eat" and there is well-being.⁹² When the final harvests are complete, the *fao kuri* (harvest celebration) is held, usually between December and March.⁹³ The *sɔŋɔ tiina* kill fowls, prepare *guli* and brew *pito*. Some househeads invite the extended family (*sɔŋɔ*). They *kaane* for their *nyenna* and the househead tells them, "what you have given us we have seen it. Here it is. You collect from us." They thank God and beg them for health and help to reach another year and let the millet ripen again.⁹⁴ There is an emphasis on family reconciliation and unity. After the harvest the househeads in the extended family may meet and discuss together the nature of the crops and then take gifts to the *tega tu* because he has cared for the land and begged health and strength from the earth.

In 1989, the Chiana chief, re-introduced the *fao kuri* to be celebrated for the whole community. The event lasted for five days with a major emphasis on reconciliation and unity. On the main day of the *fao*, a *nakwe tu* poured a libation,

in which he addressed the most recent *chiru* and asked him to give the libation to the *nabaaro* and the land. The *nakwia tu* also referred to *Wε* (God) and the Chiana Kwara. (Appendix Two contains the full text). A church leader was called upon to pray and then the Chief outlined the purpose for the festival in his speech.

The Fao festival is an occasion during which the souls of our departed ancestors are to be remembered and their spirits and the gods of our land to be invoked for blessing, peace, prosperity and tranquillity of the living. The fao festival is also a harvest festival of the Kasena speaking people who further thank their gods and ancestors for protecting them throughout the season and also for soliciting the removal of all calamities and diseases during the new year. Finally, the fao festival is also an occasion for family reunion and reconciliation with one another and offers opportunity for planning development projects for our area.⁹⁵

He emphasized the spiritual nature of the celebration, as well as reconciliation and the unity of the family. He then went on in his speech to appeal for practical help from the authorities in order to meet present physical difficulties they faced as a community.⁹⁶ Thus the event became a means of appealing for help from both the spiritual and political realms.

(4) Marriage (*kadiri*)

Marriage is a process involving the *sɔŋɔ* of both man and woman. Traditionally the *sɔŋɔ tiina* influenced the choice of partner for a *bukɔ*,⁹⁷ but today, many women desire to choose their own husband. However, women still face the consequences of decisions which *sɔŋɔ tiina* have previously made for them. These situations include: being promised to a friend of her father or his brother in a *boore* arrangement; being given to an older married "sister" as a *kanyaane* (maidservant) and the expectation of marriage to the same husband; the choice of husband being identified through the *voro* because a girl had been given to *jona* as a child.⁹⁸ Traditionally courtship involved prestations to the woman's parents before the woman came to the husband's house. However, today there are at least five ways to enter into marriage, from elopement with no prestations made, to the full prestations given prior to marriage (see Appendix three).⁹⁹

There is usually no prior announcement of the woman's entry into the bridegroom's *səŋɔ*, until men bring her to the *səŋɔ* singing songs and women begin to ululate.¹⁰⁰ From that point all other men from the clan-settlement (or exogamous group) are barred from marrying her should she leave the husband.¹⁰¹ People from the extended family, *nagura* and neighbour houses respond spontaneously to the announcement and gather at the *səŋɔ* to celebrate and make speeches. At a marriage in Saga, I heard a "brother"¹⁰² state that the *səŋɔ chira* had brought her to the house, as she had come willingly.

The marriage is not formally ratified until a series of prestations (*kadiri*) have been made from the husband's *səŋɔ* to the agnates of the woman.¹⁰³ The gifts given will depend on where the woman is from.¹⁰⁴ Two of the gifts given are the *jona* sheep and *kadiko* sheep.¹⁰⁵ Both sheep relate back to the woman's birth. The *jona* sheep is given because the *chira* were informed of her birth and they also need to be informed at some point of her marriage. The *kadiko* sheep is given to the woman's father because of the *kadiko* who was involved in her mother's pregnancy rites. This has a protective function against evil words the *kadiko* may say. Neither sheep is killed at that time, but are kept for reproduction. An additional sheep, the *lira* sheep is given if the woman had been given to a *lira* as a child.

Throughout a woman's married life, she constantly moves between her husband's and her agnates' *səŋɔ*. She has a role as a *kadiko* and she can be selected by the *voro* to perform *swəri puga* (bathing stomach) on the first pregnancy of a 'wife' in her agnates' house.¹⁰⁶ A *kadiko* is not only called to participate in the naming of a child at the *swɛɛm* ceremony, but is called when a new house is built,¹⁰⁷ funerals are performed or if a person's shrine (*wɛ*) is brought outside after their death.

One of the most critical factors affecting a woman's happiness and the stability of her marriage is her capacity to bear children. Barrenness impedes the continuity of the family and great efforts are made to overcome this. In one case, the *səŋɔ chira* and *nabaare* were blamed for causing a woman's barrenness so an oath was sworn for

the woman on a drum shrine which had power to help women conceive. Gagnon also stated that barrenness may be caused by the "Kwo" or by the husband's failure to fulfil a promise to a *tangwam*. Gagnon writes "Au village de Kayoro: La riviere (sic) Kasu-saa est repute'e fameuse pour guerir la sterilit'e."¹⁰⁸ This river, Kukula, as well as smaller *tangwana* are still used for oath taking.¹⁰⁹ If a woman does not give birth, she may try other shrines of higher power or desert her husband in favour of another. Alternatively, the husband may simply take a second wife.

(5) Death, Burials and Funerals

Death brings a change of relationship between the living and the departed, especially if the departed had children. The members of the extended *sɔŋɔ* are immediately mobilised and involved the moment a death is announced.¹¹⁰ The *nakwia tiina* of the *nagura* and clan-settlement control both burial and funeral rituals. The *nakwia tiina* discuss the sequence of events, and the *kwobia*, especially the sibling lineages, usually control the actual burial rites.¹¹¹ If the death occurred on open land outside the house, the *nakwe tu* of the *nagura* organise specific rites to *swɛ chaaga* (cleanse the land). In the event of a large number of young people dying in a *nagura* or clan-settlement, the *nakwe tu* may call all the houses to the *tangwane* to identify the cause.

After the burial, the departed liminally exists in the *sɔŋɔ* until the *lua fulim* (final funeral performance).¹¹² The *sɔŋɔ tu* communicates with certain of the departed verbally and through the provision of food. When a househead dies, the youngest son is responsible for the *jona* (shrines) until the end of the *lua fulim* and ritual is then performed to enable the right person to take over responsibility of the *jona*.¹¹³ Even after the *fulim* and the person's departure to *churu*,¹¹⁴ communication still continues.

When a woman dies her husband's *sɔŋɔ tiina* are responsible for her burial, but to bury her without the approval of her father's *sɔŋɔ tiina* is a serious wrong. When the final funeral has been performed, her spirit returns to her agnates house and her

husband's people have to go and reclaim her after the *fulim*.¹¹⁵

(6) Unexpected Events - Sickness, travelling and stealing

In the past Kasena have sought healing for sickness without having access to medical facilities. Even today, many are not close to the Health Centre in the western section and apart from bicycles, few vehicles are available. Furthermore, the rising costs of health services mean that people seek other means of healing. The search for treatment and well-being depends on the type of sickness, its suddenness of onset and the length of illness. People search for solutions individually, but if a househead knows the type of sickness a person has, he may go not to the *voro*, but directly to the *liri tu*.¹¹⁶ If this fails, then he consults the *voro* to see what is holding the person and what to do to deal with the cause and treat the sickness. Some possible causes of sickness include: offending the *chira*; someone using *dola* (throwing) *lira* against the victim, causing their leg to swell; or a *chero* (witch) catching the victim's soul. If the sickness is really serious the *sɔŋɔ tu* may request a *chichiri beenu* (bush spirit caller) come to his house. He summons the *chichiri* who then speak audibly and give the cause of sickness.¹¹⁷ The *chichiri* tell the roots needed to make *liri* for his cure.

Whatever the sickness, the treatment is influenced by its cause. The treatment generally incorporates physical and spiritual remedies as illustrated in the following case. The daughter of a *sɔŋɔ tu* had been ill for some days. The senior brother consulted a *voro* and learned that the *wɛ* of the girl required a fowl. The *sɔŋɔ tu* greeted a *liri tu* with a fowl and money. The *liri tu* gave him roots to cook in water for the girl to drink. In the evening, the *sɔŋɔ tu* also cooked some guava and mango leaves for his daughter to drink and use for bathing. He placed *guli* on the *jona* of his *kwo* and asked him to heal her. He also told me that when the girl was better, he would return to greet the *liri tu* with a fowl. In this case, two types of *kaanem* ("sacrifice") occurred: one for the power which disturbed the girl (her *wɛ*); and, one for prevention and protection and to ask for health (the *kwo*).

Different kinds of *liri* exist for differing purposes such as: broken arms, cough, stomach sickness and snakebite. One elder explained that *liri* is God's gift and its power comes from God.

God has made everything and he has given everything its medicine. If rain strikes a tree the tree spoils. The rain has some medicine and leaves it under the ground. If you do not spray the medicine on the tree, and people go under the tree, people get boils all over their body.

Some have *liri* from their *nabaara* for healing. Other *liri* is acquired from others from protection. If a person consults the *voro* and discovers an epidemic is predicted, he meets the *nagura nakwia tiina*. Together they take a fowl and flour water to the *tangwane* and call the *tangwane* to stop the sickness.

In addition to sickness, many other unexpected events occur. When young people migrate south, many depart without notice to their families, but some obtain protective *liri* as a precaution for the travel.¹¹⁸ There is always deep concern for the safety of those in the south. If sickness is reported, the *sɔŋɔ tu* consults the *voro* for the cause of the sickness. In one case a young man became ill in the south and his *sɔŋɔ tu* saw that the *chira* were angry over his failure to attend a series of funerals which were performed in the house, so he sent someone south to bring him back.

Hunger and the need for the fare to go south are two of the causes behind much stealing in the north. People use *liri* to protect themselves from thieves and to catch thieves.¹¹⁹ If stealing occurs repeatedly in the house, the househead can call the *voro* to *pwe chira*. This means the *voro* takes earth from the *chira* and mixes it with water and makes everyone drink the mixture. The thief will not drink because he fears being attacked by the mixture and thus they are able to identify the culprit.¹²⁰

3. Kasena belief expressed through problem solving and analysis

The overall impression gained from Kasena efforts to resolve problems is that they believe the supernatural realm plays an active part in their lives and physical environment. Consequently when confronted with threatening situations or problems

it is natural for them to incorporate the supernatural realm in the solutions. In 1916, an observer saw that "Consulting or making fetish is a preliminary to almost every undertaking whether it be farming (sic) hunting or even burning the grass, that a native proposes to do."¹²¹ Nearly 60 years later, Kazaresam reiterates this: "In his daily life, the Kasena's main struggle is against hunger and sickness; and to effectively avoid them he must pay regular attention to the gods and the ancestors."¹²² Physical activities do not belong exclusively to the domain of living humanity.

The family in the *sɔŋɔ* perceive themselves as part of a community which extends back to those who founded the *sɔŋɔ*, cared for its members, taught them ways to survive and whose presence continues to be felt after their deaths as they are still concerned with the affairs of the living. The Kasena recognise the *nabaara* and *chira* not as impersonal forces, but as members of a community (Figures 10, 11). They distinguish the *nabaara* and *chira* from other spiritual entities in the supernatural realm, and they distinguish between their functions. The departed family members and the spiritual entities must be dealt with. Traditionally only certain people had the right to mediate between human beings and the supernatural realm. The Kasena also distinguish between the person within the family and those at other levels in the community who are responsible for ensuring proper care and the maintenance of harmony or unity in life. Therefore, the seriousness of an issue or event influences whether it is dealt with by the *sɔŋɔ* alone or at a higher level.

(1) The supernatural realm

a. The influence of the *nabaara* and *chira* in the family and community

The *nabaaro* is the founder and the *chira* are those who follow. In the past, the *nabaara* attempted to cope with their environment and the *chullu* (customs) passed down from them reflect this effort and thus provide people with guidance for survival. To divert from these is to risk opening up life to attack and destruction. The role of the *nabaaro* appears to be restricted to major issues in Kasena life. In everyday *sɔŋɔ* events the *chira* have the principal role of care and protection for the family; they give



Figure 10. Members of a clan-settlement gathered around the *nabaare* at a funeral.



Figure 11. Pouring a libation to the *nabaara* and *tangwana* at a community function.

blessing, but they also punish wrongdoers.

When a child disobeys his human father, the father usually calls the child and "asks" him what he did. The Kasena have a phrase: "*chira wó bwei-m*" ('*chira*' will ask you). If there is offence, disobedience at the human level such as: disruption in the house; disobedience of *chullu*; insulting the *chira* by saying they are useless, then the *chira* will "ask".¹²³ This is usually made apparent because they withdraw protection and allow sickness or some other mishap to occur such as, the loss of a cow or groundnuts. Thus *chira* punish or give warning which needs to be discerned through the *voro* and calls for corrective action and a renewal of the protection.

The *chira* also act beyond mere warning, for Kasena believe they have the power to cause death, if offences are serious, or if they have been manipulated through oaths. Serious offences include: deliberate sale of a cow that a person has been instructed to *kaane*; *sɔɔle chira* (swearing an oath on the *chira*) when accused of serious wrong in the house, by saying "if I really did this thing the *chira* can call me and ask". To say "*chira boŋ-ne ba bwei*" (*chira* calls me, they ask) means a summons to *churu* (place of the *chira*) to "ask" him about his offence and this is death. People also manipulate the *chira*. If two people dispute, one could go to the *voro* and tell the *chira* about the man "spoiling" him. He promises to give the *chira* something if the man dies.¹²⁴

The link between the *chira* and death is a powerful means of social control. When people build a new *sɔŋɔ*, a person who has responsibility for a *wɛ* of someone departed takes it with him and builds it in the new *sɔŋɔ*. In one case a *sayugu tu* learned at the *voro* that the departed *sɔŋɔ tu* whose *wɛ* had been moved, was unhappy and wanted to return to the *didogo* (old house site). The *sayugu tu* told the custodian for the *wɛ* to move out of the *sɔŋɔ* he resided in and build close to the *didogo*. He refused: some time later one of his family died. The *sayugu tu* learned the cause of death: the *chiru* was a stranger in the *sɔŋɔ* where he was and wanted to return to his former *sɔŋɔ*. The custodian still refused to move until a second member of his family

died and the same cause was cited. This time he moved and built a new *sɔŋɔ*.

If the *chullu* have provided some guidelines to help people survive in this fragile environment, and sickness and death are constantly explained in terms of deviation from these ways, then to change from what has been done before brings profound risk. This explains why the Kasena have in the past resisted change.¹²⁵ The Kasena say "*nabaara tage ba taane ba we 'foone wo nakwala ni ne'*" (ancestors talk and say that fear is at the shallow place). This means that when a person enters water, he does not know where it is deep or shallow, so he fears to go on. Not only have Kasena lacked alternatives as illustrated in Chapter two, but there is fear of the consequences of behaviour deviating from the *nabaara chullu*. Change does occur as illustrated in this chapter and in Chapter two, but traditionally, change occurred after consultation with the *sɔŋɔ tiina* which included the *nabaara* and *chira* through the *voro*, as well as others in the community.

Although the *chira* and *nabaara* appear to stand in the forefront, they do not act in a vacuum, for they are under the authority of *Wɛ* (God). People say "*chira* do not have power with God, but they have power with people". Their power to act and punish is influenced by their entry into the supernatural realm after death and their witnessing life in the house. They communicate and act as a go between with *Wɛ*.

(2) *Wɛ*: understanding Kasena perception of the creator God

After 90 years of Christian presence, it is difficult to determine what the Kasena thought about the creator God prior to the arrival of Christian missionaries. The Kasem word *wɛ* has a range of usages. It can refer to the sky, the sun, the supreme being, and the personal guardian. Furthermore the *doa tu* (rain custodian) is forbidden to use the word *doa* and only refers to rain as *wɛ*. There is thus potential for confusion when a non-Kasena hears a Kasena refer to *wɛ*. The Kasena distinguish between the terms either through the context of the sentence in which *wɛ* occurs or through adding a prefix - "*baja wɛ*" (high God) and "*yugu wɛ*" (head god - for the

personal shrine). They do not consider the sun to be the Supreme Being and they are not sun worshippers.¹²⁶

Early observers of Kasena life struggled to understand these distinctions. Cardinall described *We* in the following manner: "His power being beyond limitation, he stands alone, and is usually not to be approached by mere mortals."¹²⁷ He then suggested that "The Sky itself - or maybe the Creator - has a private worship paid to it."¹²⁸ He based this assumption on a prior assumption that the "small pyramid of sun-baked mud" with a small stone set on its summit and located on the roof was "the sacrificial place for *We*."¹²⁹ However, he then contradicted himself by saying that people could propitiate the earth gods but not *We*.¹³⁰ This lack of clarity led to other inaccurate assumptions being made about the way Kasena relate to God.

B. Der attempted to argue that the Kasena not only had God as their ultimate objective in sacrifice, but that there was evidence to show that the Kasena sacrificed directly to God and furthermore that every compound has a *wε-diga* in which Kasena directly worship God.¹³¹ To support his thesis he referred to the writings of Father Gagnon who wrote

Nous avons à Navrongo, plusieurs endroits qui sacrifient directement à Dieu. On rend plus spécialement un culte direct à Dieu, à Pungu, Navrongo. Dans plusieurs endroits, un peu dans tous les coins, il y a une case réservée spécialement à Dieu.¹³²

Der then quoted an earlier work by Gagnon. "Le culte rendu à Dieu consiste en des sacrifices. De mémoire d'homme les Kassénés ont toujours réservé, dans chaque habitation, une case pour le culte de Dieu, appelée de ce fait 'Wè-diga' (Case de Dieu)."¹³³ Der concluded "The direct worship of God among the Kasena was indigenous."¹³⁴ Furthermore, they reserved a sacred room for God. However, Gagnon describes the room as containing a jar filled with water and roots which the mothers of children who had been accepted by the clan in this hut changed annually. Gagnon stated: "Le jour que l'enfant reçoit un nom sur le Wè, ou sur une autre puissance, il devient membre du clan."¹³⁵ He further added "Les gens qui sacrifient directement à Dieu sur le Wè, doivent imposer le nom le huitième jour après la naissance."¹³⁶

Moreover, the "sorcier" is consulted on the day of birth and the actual ceremony is called "Sèèm". What Gagnon refers to here is the naming ceremony performed when a *duga*, *lira* or *wε*, chooses a child and asks for the child to be dedicated to it. Therefore, was the *wε-diga* Gagnon referred to, this room in which the *lira* was kept to which a child was dedicated? A *nakwia tu* told me, "There is one *lira*. It wants to build its own room so that it will be standing there alone. The one who looks after it to *kaane* it ... he will go in there and *kaane*. If a person is sick and they send you to the *lira diga*, there they will treat you. You become a person. ... That's our *wε diga*. *Ba ye jom mo* (They are shrines)."¹³⁷ However, Der interpreted the whole process as evidence of direct sacrifice to God. He concluded

Not only did God have a distinct name, which was *We*, he also had a specific room dedicated to him in each [my underlining] Kasena home. It was in this room the *We-diga*, literally, God's room, that religious rites and worship were rendered to God.¹³⁸

This claim of the universality of a *We-diga* with accompanying direct worship of God in all homes is not substantiated in reality.

It appears that Gagnon also failed to distinguish between *Baja Wε* and *yugu wε*.¹³⁹ A *voro* and his son indicated that they clearly distinguished between *wε* and *baja Wε* (high God). When a *voro* points to *wε*, the person is to *kaane* his *wε*, not *baja Wε*. He stated "You only call *baja Wε*'s name, so that your own *wε* will then send the thing to *baja Wε*. The *wε* and *baja Wε* help together. It is the *baja Wε* who sent the stone down." Another elder asserted "if they deliver a child, and if the child grows, they will build the child's *yugu wε*. They tell him 'this is your *yugu wε* so you *kaane* it.' They do it to have *yazura* (well-being). *Ba ta boŋ Wε yere* (They do call God's name)." Awedoba contends that the "Kasena-Nankani clearly maintained the distinction between God (We), the divinities (tangona and jona) and the ancestors (kwoa and chira)."¹⁴⁰ The *wε* given to a small child, whether at naming or some other time, is associated with the person's destiny. On the occasion of death, if that person qualifies for ancestral status, this *wε* is moved after the funeral and built outside the house where it symbolises the person. It is not the Supreme Being.

Through the description in this chapter on Kasena praxis, there are illustrations of references to *Wε* (God). In the prayer and libation at the *fao* festival (Appendix Two), the *nakwe tu* referred to *Wε* a number of times. He begged *Wε*, in conjunction with the *nabaara*, Chiana Kwara, and the *tangwana* (Zambao and Kola), for unity. He also begged *Wε* to block any evil from occurring at the gathering. Kasena generally call the name of *Wε* whenever they *kaane jona*. Furthermore, God's power and creativity are often referred to in Kasena speech and proverbs: *Wε na sε* (if God agrees), *Wε pae yazura* (God gives health/well-being). S.P.Wedjong lists a number of proverbs, of which one states "*Wε pεεre dae vero*" (God's gift is not a stranger), meaning people do not use their own power to make things, since it is God who provides. However, they also say "*Wε wola balo na zεη' ba tete to mo*" (God helps those who help themselves).¹⁴¹ Names of people, such as *Wepera* (God's gift) also illustrate the belief in God's power or giving. One man named his child *Ajecedewe* (I have with God) meaning "I have blamed God" because he thought God would help him with health and wealth, but God appeared not to do so. Awedoba refers to the proverb "'God does not contract debts but he repays debts' (*We ba di jena se o ngwe*)"¹⁴² to point out that according to the Kasena-Nankana, even if generosity is not repaid, the Almighty God has seen and ultimately "will be the source of reward."¹⁴³

There is no doubt the Kasena believe in a distinct Supreme Being who is above. Therefore there is no inconsistency in also referring to both the sun and sky as *wε*. When *Wε* sends something to help humans such as the *naare* (blacksmith's stone), although it comes from the sky, its source is the supreme being and so as with other *jona* from *Wε*, it must be built as a shrine and becomes another power through which a Kasena communicates with the supernatural realm. *Wε* is close but far away,¹⁴⁴ and there is no familiarity with him. *Wε* stands unique because he moulds a person's destiny, has unlimited power, is creator of the world and is the one who gave the *nabaara* their well-being and ways. *Wε* is invisible and does not usually interfere directly in peoples' affairs.¹⁴⁵ "He has left this in the hands of lesser deities and the ancestral spirits, who do the immediate governing of the world for Him."¹⁴⁶ Der suggests that the role of the ancestors as mediators between God and man reflects

Kasena social protocol as Kasena do not directly approach a Chief but go through an elder to make requests.¹⁴⁷ As ancestors are departed elders, he concludes that they play this intermediary role between God and man. However, occasionally, a man will directly address God, especially if all other routes through available intermediary ancestors or spirits have failed. The earth and spirits associated with it are the other powerful supernatural agents.

(3) The land, *tangwana* and related spirits

Wε made the *tega* (earth) and *tangwana*. Kasena sometimes speak of *wε de katega* (God or heaven and the earth) in which the earth is given feminine status. The *tangwan* is a territorial spirit associated with land, trees or rivers. There are large *tangwana* connected with specific areas of land and these usually coincide with clan-settlements. Their powers do not normally extend into other areas, but their reputations do. The fame of the river Kukula, has extended beyond the Kasena for many years. While on a visit to Kayoro in 1940, a district officer noted "a large lorry load of Ashantis here at present, they are slaughtering many sheep to the Sissili fetish and have all brought their individual requests to him."¹⁴⁸

There are also myriads of less powerful *tangwana*. These are sometimes called *tangwane bia* (*tangwane* children) and reflect a belief that trees, rocks or rivers have spirits associated with them, although not necessarily dwelling within the object. Trees in particular have powers to appear as a human form. If a man consults a *voro* and discovers that a particular group of trees or rocks near his house are *tangwana*, then a shrine is built. All these small house *tangwana*, are under the authority of the major earth *tangwana*.¹⁴⁹ It is forbidden for people to cut down the trees classified as *tangwane*. Markets are associated with *tangwana*.¹⁵⁰

People go to the *tangwana* if there is a very serious problem which has not been resolved either at the individual or the community level and if they perceive there is no other option.¹⁵¹ In the story of the founding of Chiana, Wusiga takes a

vow on the shrine to have children. In the clan-settlement, the *tangwane* is referred to when epidemics occur, to determine the causes of unexpected deaths, or to beg for rain. Many people individually take oaths on *tangwana*: for wealth, winning lotto, or having children. The taking of oaths is serious, for if the request is fulfilled and the individual does not give what is promised, then the *tangwam* has the power to kill the person or their children. The *tangwam* is also a source of protection, especially from *chera* (witches) and the protection is symbolised by the *kwara* worn round the neck.

Linked with the *tangwana* are the *chichira* /*chichiri* ("bush spirits"). There are two types: those called by the *chichiri beenu* (the *chichiri* caller); and those associated with bush animals, birds or fish which hunters and fishermen placate. The bush *chichiri* have the power to follow people and cause mental illness,¹⁵² but they differ from the *chichirulchichirru* referred to in the discussion on birth.

d. *Jona* and *liri* and the action of *kaanem* (ritual usually incorporating sacrifice)

The *jona* incorporate all ancestral shrines, *liri* and also protective objects such as bangles, tails or talisman worn on clothes. The guardians of *liri* inherited from the *nabaara* usually *kaane* the *liri*, but other types of *liri* are used without any associated *kaanem*. Kazaresam states "Every compound is a law to itself in religious matters, and no efforts are made to convert anyone to another family religious beliefs."¹⁵³ This is true with respect to the *chira* and *nabaara* for they are family members and are only interested in the activities of the family. However, people are open to accepting and using new types of *liri* for it is in the use of *liri* that the greatest evidence of individual action occurs. There are people who roam from place to place with their *liri*. If they stay in a house for a while they may give *liri* to protect from sickness or someone's evil to the househead as a way of thanking him for his kindness. At other times people go and seek someone to cure a sickness. The *liri tu* comes, helps, and transfers some of his powers. When *liri* is perceived to be helpful it is passed on. People persuade each other about the power of a particular *liri* which they believe to be helpful in some area.

The significance of *jona* is displayed through the act of *kaanem* mentioned frequently throughout this chapter. To *kaane jona* involves more than the image of slaughtering a fowl or animal on a shrine. It is an interpretative and efficacious tool which incorporates prayer to bring restoration, reconciliation and renewed unity. At times no fowl or animal is killed and only prayer is said.

(4) Those who mediate between humans, the departed and other supernatural powers

a. *Vora* (diviners) and concern for *yazura* (well-being/health)¹⁵⁴

The *voro* helps the Kasena in decision-making. An elder stated to me: "*Ba tɔge vora berem ye ko pa ba yazura*" (They [our fathers] follow diviners advice and it gives them well-being). He then added, "it is not a bad thing when you go to *voro sɔŋɔ*, because our father rose up and the "dokta" was not there. If a child was not well, you roam and go to *voro sɔŋɔ* and find out why and what to do so the child recovers." The *voro*'s role is critical in the search for causes and in understanding the ritual action required from the spiritual realm to ameliorate the situation. The *chichiri* caller's function is similar to that of the *voro* but is not as widely used.

b. The *chera* and *sampwora*

The *chera* (witches) and *sampwora* have the power to see and work with the souls of humans (and of millet). The *chera* destroy, whereas the *sampwora* have the power to set free souls of those caught by *chera*. The belief in the power of the *chero* has been present among the Kasena for many years. Cardinall lists the "kyiro" as a "man or woman who changes into a fire during the night"¹⁵⁵ which is one of the powers people say the *chero* has. *Sampwora* are still active today in Kayoro-Woro.

(5) Authorities with power to *kaane jona*

There are specific people in the *sɔŋɔ* and at other levels in Kasena community life who are responsible for ensuring proper relationships with the supernatural and have the authority to make requests of them. At the clan-settlement level the *kwara*

tu has authority for the *kwara* of the chief, the *tega tu* for the land, the *doa tu* for the rain and a *nakwe tu* is in charge of the *nabaare*. Awedoba states that "the custodians of important shrines derive their authority from the fact that they can communicate with ancestors and divinities."¹⁵⁶ The *nakwe tu* position is inherited from one house to another, and not passed on to the holder's younger brother, but the man who takes over cannot do so until the final funeral of the previous holder is performed.

In the *sɔŋɔ*, it is the *sɔŋɔ tu* who has the authority to be the sole mediator with the departed family members and any associated *jona*. Awedoba states "As members cannot communicate with the ancestors to pray for benefits or sacrifice to them to avert personal disasters except through him, if he refuses to make sacrifices on a person's behalf that person fears for his life and welfare."¹⁵⁷ To disrespect or insult the *sɔŋɔ tu* may mean that he ignores the person, even refuses to bury their dead, or tells the person to act alone. Some people say "If the *sɔŋɔ tu* does not like you, the *chira* won't like you." This then opens a person to being disturbed by the *chira*. If the *sɔŋɔ tu* deliberately obstructs his people from having access to the *chira* and *nabaaro*, he also then risks the wrath of the ancestors through sickness or death.¹⁵⁸ A man can always sacrifice to his direct father, but even this route for ancestral interaction is not open to women, who must always pass through someone else.

The only avenue for individuals, particularly for women, to interact personally with the spiritual realm, is to become a *voro* or to acquire some *liri* or protective apparatus. Even if women do gain *liri*, traditionally they do not *kaane*, their husbands do it for them. Formerly women never went to *vora*, but there is evidence that women now do so. During a speech at a funeral in Katiu in 1983, a *nakwe tu*, Alibichongo, blamed the world being "spoilt" on a number of issues, one of which was that women were now going to *vora* and mallams and were also making vows on *tangwana*.¹⁵⁹ The effects of increasing individualism and husbands working in the south has meant that women today often search for their own routes of access to supernatural power and the Supreme Being.

4. Conclusion

The Kasena family is an extensive and complex network of horizontal and vertical relationships incorporating the living, those travelling and the dead. Those who have gone before have provided guidance in the past for a person's deliverance from issues that disrupt life. The overriding concern in a person's life, in the *sɔŋɔ*, and community is *yazura* and this is reflected in the constant search to resolve problems. The *sɔŋɔ* into which a person is born is the focal point for resolving the problems and issues that individuals and the *sɔŋɔ* face. It is within this context that they express their belief about life and the supernatural realm. The "religious" and "non-religious" are so closely interwoven that at times it is difficult to distinguish between the two. To approach life and problems in the physical sphere means relating to what is perceived as spiritual; to approach spiritual matters means also to deal with the practical realities of life.

Every person relates to his or her own family. To abandon your "fathers" and take up another person's "fathers" is to abandon your family. Therefore, at the level of family, people do not try to convert others to what lies within their family heritage. At this level many are not so open to change, especially those who are to inherit ancestral land. The land is inseparable from the *jona* associated with it. People also do not attempt to "convert" others to what everyone acknowledges: God (*Wɛ*) exists. Certain ideas are widely shared such as the power of the *tangwana*, however, *tangwana* names and some of their functions differ. It is in the area of phenomena outside the *chira* and *nabaara* where people attempt to persuade others to accept something new, if they discover spiritual phenomena, such as *liri* that they believe will help a person's well-being. However, the *chira* and the *nabaara* remain central.

The movement of people travelling south has opened the way for other spiritual phenomena to be introduced and this has permeated Kasena family life. New spiritual powers from other areas have been introduced, shrines in the south of Ghana are consulted. The *kwara* was accepted early in their history as a means of implementing

community well-being. Movements referred to as "*Wε bu*" (God's child) swept through Kasena communities in the 1950s.¹⁶⁰ Most significantly, through being away from family restraints and observation individuals have visited churches.

Family life has struggled to maintain unity in the face of a number of issues. Migration has divided families, but provided an alternative means of survival when hunger has become too great in the north of Ghana. Education has separated children from their parents, and as children have gained knowledge, it has broken down traditional patterns of respect for the elders in society as well as fostering greater individualism. These social forces are driving people towards different ways of relating to each other. In addition, the introduction of the gospel of Jesus Christ has introduced changes which have had a profound impact on family life.

NOTES

1. *Sɔŋɔ/Sam* - means compound or homestead; it may also refer to a group of compounds who originated from one compound.
2. Chief's compounds also tend to be very large because of the benefits of living there.
3. Rectangular rooms are only a recent feature of the Kasena *sɔŋɔ*.
4. The entrances lie on the lee side of the rain storms which move from east to west in the rainy season (J.Hunter, "The social roots of dispersed settlement in Northern Ghana," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 1967, 57 (2), p.343.
5. *Joni/a* is a generic term which covers many different types of shrines. Most shrines are built as low mud mounds with small stones placed on the top symbolising the associated spirit.
6. Often the original builder of the *sɔŋɔ* and his eldest wife are buried in the courtyard in front of their rooms. Other old men and women too may be buried in the courtyard of rooms, depending on their position in the family. Old men are often buried in the cattle yard.
7. An individual's *wɛ* is built as a small mud mound on which a small stone is placed.
8. Cardinall noted this in 1920 (Cardinall, *Natives of the Northern Territories*, p.79).
9. I found people in the western Kasena-Nankana zone disagreed as to whether a person became a *chiru* after burial or only after the final funeral.
10. In 1907 O'Kineally could not find an individual term for the family. He wrote "Family or household, 'songho', seems to have wider meaning that includes adopted children and slaves, as well as the children of the family itself, of whatever generation." (NAG-A. ADM 56/1/514. "Navarro district", J. O'Kineally, D.C. 1907)
11. The term *diga* (room) can also mean a sub-division. Awedoba appears to refer to the *diga* as the *dugu*. He points out that the people of a *dugu* may even occupy more than one compound and resemble an extended family. (Awedoba, *Aspects of Wealth and Exchange*, p.133.)
12. *Ibid*, p.139.
13. A boy would use the same terms. Zwernemann, outlines the categories for Kasena in Pô, The term (*kwo/kwoa*) applies to "FaFaSiSo, FaFaBrSo, FaSiHu, FaBr, Fa, MoFaSiSo, MoBr, MoSiHu, MoMoSiSo, WiFaBr, WiFa, WiMoSiHu, HuFa." (Zwernemann, "Zur Socialordnung der Kasena," p.58)
14. Awedoba, *Aspects of Wealth and Exchange*, p.253.

15. A man told me if he goes to Kumasi for the first time, he gives his brother what is earned or bought. After that, everything he works for is for himself.
16. Awedoba, Aspects of Wealth and Exchange, p.253.
17. Esther Goody presents evidence that fostering children "is a pan-West Africa phenomenon for which no locally appropriate functional explanation will suffice." (E.Goody, *Parenthood and Social Reproduction*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1982, p.179). In a survey of 166 Gonja adults, she found 53 per cent of men and 56 per cent of women had been fostered as children. (*Ibid*, p.39)
18. The mother (*nu/niina*) for Kasena in Pô, includes "FaSi, FaBrWi, FaWi, Mo, MoBrWi, MoSi, WiMo, WiMoSi, HuMo." (Zwernemann, "Zur Socialordnung der Kasena," p.58)
19. Awedoba indicates that where sisters of one mother marry the same man, their children are also regarded as full siblings (*chouro zoo*) and not half-siblings as would be the children of other wives. (Awedoba, Aspects of Wealth and Exchange, p.151)
20. *Ibid*, p.149. The *chouro/chourro* are those whose mother's and ego's mother are descendants from the same male ancestor.
21. *Joro/jwooru* (soul/spirit) - millet and other objects also have a *joro*.
22. There are four categories of people with power to "see" the souls of others and not all are destructive: (i) *chera* - who "see" and destroy; (ii) *jiru/jiiru* - who see, have power to turn into an animal and destroy; (iii) *chera* - who "see", but do not destroy the souls of others; and (iv) *sampwora/i* - who "see", do not eat or destroy, but will talk and free the souls of those who have been caught by the *chera* who do destroy. (A.Howell, "chero/chera - 'witches'", Unpublished ms, SIM Ghana, 1988).
23. Instead of the singular spelling, *choro* for 'witch' and relative, I have chosen two spellings to use in this thesis: *chero* ('witch') and *chouro* (relative) to emphasize the dual meanings of the words. Furthermore, the kasem word for hen in the singular can also be written as *choro*, illustrating the difficulty in writing a tonal language.
24. Awedoba, Aspects of Wealth and Exchange, p.151. Rattray suggested this was the case for the Nankani, but his informants denied it (Rattray, *The Tribes of the Ashanti Hinterland*, Vol. 1, p.241). However, Abasi, agrees that Kasena consider witchcraft to be passed on by the mother. (Abasi, Bayaaro among the Kasena, p.2.) Kazaresam states "The inherited characteristics of this uterine relationship is the potentiality of being a witch. Thus for two people to claim that if one of them is accused of witchcraft the other is necessarily included, is the same as claiming that they are matrilineal kin!" (Kazaresam, The Kasena of Ghana, p.14.)
25. Kazaresam, The Kasena of Ghana, p.15.

26. I asked a househead about difficulties he faced. He identified two issues: funerals being performed in the house and strangers coming to stay. He then told me about the time I had initially asked his permission to stay in his house. He said, "I sat and talked with my brothers and told them 'the white is coming'. You (referring to me) and God are close. My mother's mat is there and I went in and squatted and talked to her. She will talk to the fathers." His mother had died the year before.

27. *kaane* - is usually translated "to sacrifice"; *kaanem* (sacrificing). The full meaning is explained in the last section of this chapter.

28. NAG-A. ADM 5/1/16. *NT Annual Report*, 1907, p.7.

29. Awedoba Aspects of Wealth and Exchange, p.25. Fortes also strongly reinforces the almost reverential fear displayed by Tale youth for his father. Although a youth could afford to pay his own bride-price, he refused to do so, because it was his father's responsibility. If he did so, he would set himself as equal to his father and the consequence of this may well be a curse or the refusal of the father to sacrifice on the behalf of the son. (M.Fortes, "Pietas in Ancestor Worship," in *Time and Structure and Other Essays*, London, Althone, 1970, pp.174,175).

30. Hunter, "The social roots of dispersed settlement," p.339.

31. *Ibid*, p.344.

32. Awedoba, Aspects of Wealth and Exchange, p.131.

33. Awedoba suggests that fewer break-away from compounds than in the past, instead creating "semi-autonomous and semi-detached units." (*Ibid*, p.141) The reason he cites for this is that incomes of employed people in the compound lessen total dependence of people in the compound on farming related activities and people are deterred by the high costs of building material and food and drink given to the agnates and friends who help. (*Ibid*, pp.141,142.) In the western section there is still high reliance on farming as less people have access to employment and in recent years new compounds have continued to be built.

34. The two words *nyenabia* and *kwobia* are both the same. It appears that *nyenabia* is predominantly used in the Chiana area, although they do refer to *kwobia*. The expressions refer to those who stem from the same founding father, but have different mothers. *Nyena/nyenna* is usually used to refer to the grandfather.

35. *sayuni* (principal houses). Awedoba, Aspects of Wealth and Exchange, p.133.

36. NAG-A. ADM 5/1/16. *NT Annual Report*, 1907, p.8.

37. Ladouceur, *Chiefs and Politicians*, p.42.

38. In 1921, the Fathers reported the death of Ayidana and state "A propos de cette mort, les gens de Yatonian et de Dyanania se disputent pour avoir la dépouille mortelle.

Dyanania la réclame parce que le défunt s'était établi sur son territoire. Yatonía réclame parce que Ayidana sort de cet endroit, et qu'il n'y a encore personne de la famille d'enterré à Dyanania. Qui tranchera le litige?" (WFD:20-9-1921.) For two days he was not buried because of the dispute until the decision was reached that he would be buried near his fathers. (WFD:21,22-9-1921.) Awedoba gives an example of a man's children having to bury him privately because the *sayugu tu* refused to attend as a result of a dispute and thus no other member of the extended family could attend or help (Awedoba, Aspects of Wealth and Exchange, p.134, 135). I attended the burial of a child in Katiu in 1983, where the househead initially refused permission for the child to be buried because of a dispute with the child's father. The burial was delayed for hours, and only proceeded when the househead was placated.

39. Awedoba, Aspects of Wealth and Exchange, p.99.

40. Ayaga uses the term *nagura/e* for the clan (Ayaga, "Suem", p.1). In Kayoro, Kanchela is both a clan-settlement and a *nagura*. In Katiu, Saga is a clan-settlement, with four *nagure*, Bagnania, Suzona, Tampu Sɔŋɔ and Bayao. In Chiana, the main clan-settlements are Nyangania, Abulu, Kanania (Gwenia), Kworania (Gwenia), Wurania (Gwenia), Gugoro (Kalivio), Aboenia (Kalivio), Saboro, Adognia, Asunia, Yidania and Wurunia. In Chiana-Asunia, the *nagure* include, Kadabia, Kulubia, Kabatiabia, Alonia, Aligabia, Alonia, etc. In Chiana-Nyangania, the *nagure* are Sabonia, Atiasong and Kababia.

41. The term *nagura* is formed from *naao* (cow) and from the verb *goa* ('to kill', *gura* - 'killing'). In Kayoro some refer to the *nagura* as *nawuril-a*. In other Kasena areas it is also known by the latter name.

42. He also points out that when you ask people which *daa* they belong to, they will tell you their clan-settlement. (Awedoba, Aspects of Wealth and Exchange, p.102)

43. To a form of the *nabaaro*'s name, the Kasena add the suffix, either *-bia* (children of) or *-nia* (people of). According to Awedoba, the clan-settlements or lineages ending with *-nia* suggest structural complexity of the section. Those ending with *bia* stress the lineal composition. (*Ibid*, p.122) Thus the clan-settlement of Asunia is named after "Basuu" and it is "the people of Basuu". However, one *nagura* within it is "Kulubia" (the children of Kulu), etc. Not all clan settlements are named after ancestors. Saboro is a place of thorns (*sabore*).

44. Awedoba, Aspects of Wealth and Exchange, p.100.

45. The *tangwam tu* is the custodian of the shrines for the earth, trees or rivers.

46. Awia suggests that a small child is often given a chicken by his *nabera* and the child will use this as the beginning of personal property (J.Awia, From Birth to Burial in an African Tribe, Unpublished typescript, 1976, p.7). The gift is also given with the blessing of the ancestors of the mother's extended family (Awedoba, Aspects of Wealth and Exchange, p.145).

47. Awedoba, Aspects of Wealth and Exchange, p. 146.
48. Awedoba indicates that a man could actually be "thwarted" in his efforts if his own agnates are party to the communication from the *voro* (*Ibid*, p.148).
49. That is, the other women from her clan-settlement and between the children of those women.
50. Awedoba, Aspects of Wealth and Exchange, p.149.
51. *Ibid*, p.117
52. The word *teo* can be used to refer to Ghana as a country. (*Ibid*, p.94)
53. The chief's ritual horn.
54. Awedoba, Aspects of Wealth and Exchange, p.152.
55. *Kwobia* has a series of meanings. In the narrowest sense, close *kwobi* are those of one father, different mothers live separately but are extended family. There are also the *kwobia* of the *nagura* or clan-settlement. On a wider scale, people in Chiana-Yidania regard those from Chiana-Kalivio or Saboro as their *kwobia* and they have a joking relationship with them. However, the widest use of the term *kwobia* is for application to external groups like the Sisala whom Kasena refer to as playmates.
56. A man explained to me that he learned to do the work of his father's snake *lira* when he was a small boy. He said, "If they come to get the medicine, he will let me climb to the medicine place (on the roof) and make it and give to the man. I see all he has been doing. That is why I know how to do the medicine."
57. For this reason not all children are sent to school.
58. This includes things such as accidents and snakebite.
59. The initial description of birth practices is based on personal observation in a house in the west of Chiana. The variations are described in the text or endnotes.
60. A hospital is located in Navrongo and Health Centres in Chiana and Paga, but these are usually used by women living close to the areas, or women are brought to them if they have difficulties in their labour.
61. Older women from other houses also come to assist with the birth of a child.
62. After a normal birth, the placenta is placed in a small clay pot with the chaff used to clean the spot where the birth occurred. A small boy from the house carefully buries the pot in the midden. If the birth occurred in the farming season and a man buried the placenta, he would be prevented from farming for 3 or 4 days, hence the use of the small boy.

63. The number three is always related to boys and four to girls. Ayaga suggests the Kasena do this "because the woman is weaker and will always need more time." (Ayaga, 'Suem', p.6)

64. Alternative ways of performing the *firu* exist for bringing a mother out of the house after the birth of her child. In some houses, a person who has the *yisena* (red eyes) medicine brings her out. He comes at dawn, stands outside the gate and holds ash in his hand. He blows the ash with the woman and brings her outside. He then "knocks" her on the head with a *kwara* (horn) three/four times and places it on her neck. He does this so a *yisena* person who sees her or her child does not harm them. Others do not use a *kwara*, but seek protection for the mother and child from the *yisena* person by putting crosses above the door and on the small wall.

65. Fr. Awia suggests that the ash and broken pot are placed at the cross-roads to prevent evil spirits from using the path or any other to the house to harm the child. (Awia, From Birth to Burial, p.5.)

66. The women do not allow the water to enter the mouth, otherwise she will never give birth again. Ayaga also found that it was regarded as necessary if woman wanted to have subsequent births. (Ayaga, 'Suem', p.6)

67. They bathe the *swero* for at least a month till the baby turns black.

68. The mother lays the child on its side across her knees and she blocks the nose of the child which forces the child to inhale water through the mouth. She uses two small bowls and gives it small amounts of water in her cupped hands. *O nye* (She gives water). *Nye* describes the manner of giving water. Those from *chichiru dua* do not *nye* their babies and they only use one bowl.

69. There are three possible positions which women of *chichiru dui* can give their babies water to drink: (a) sitting upright; (b) passing water from the mother's mouth to the child's mother; and (c) leaving the baby in the room for the *chichiru* to feed.

70. The *chichirru* are believed to be powerful. Some people would tell the *chichirru* about a new child even if a woman is not from the *chichiru* family, so that they will not harm the woman.

71. The first occasion on which he does see the child is at the naming and the *firu* is performed. The *firu* and naming of the child in parts of Asunia combines aspects of what is two separate ceremonies in other places. A detailed description of this and the naming procedures is discussed by Ayaga, ('Suem'). The ruling of a father not seeing the child before the *firu* is rigidly maintained in some houses. While visiting a *soho* in Asunia a woman showed me a sick child. They had tried Kasena *liri*, but the child remained ill. I suggested they go to the Health Post. When they agreed, they sent a message to the child's father to warn him to stay away from there so he would not see the child before the performing of the *firu*.

72. He holds ash in his hand, blows (*fi*) and says "*a bu*" (my child). The mother reciprocates with ash, saying "*a kwo*" (my father). After the birth of the child, at some point the mother will *fi* also with the person she was forbidden to see during her pregnancy. Ayaga illustrates the special significance of ash among the Kasena. "Ashes are used as a symbol of purification, of protection against any harm and also as a symbol of peace and reconciliation." (Ayaga, 'Suem', p.11)

73. Another meaning is "*Busisiḡa na ba dzega wo'lonno to, o nyi de Wε mo.*" (How a baby doesn't have evil, it is like God) (Wedjong, *Kasena Sinseri*, p.12)

74. The *wε* or *yugu wε* is like a guardian spirit or the personification of spirituality.

75. The *vorō* himself finds the stone for the *wε* by using his *vorō gweli* (divining stick). The *vorō* comes early the next morning and sits by the gate and calls "come out and collect your *wε*". The *sɔḡɔ tu* and *vorō* consult together and the *vorō* sends the child out to his uncle's house road. A hole is dug and fresh pond water poured inside. It is mixed with the dirt and this earth is taken inside the house to the place where the *wε* wants to be built whether it is the *diga-pɔɔɔ* by the wall, outside in the courtyard, or near the small wall.

76. A person's *wε* is not always built for them when they are a child. In one case, a teenager had an accident. He was called unexpectedly early one morning to witness the building of his *wε*.

77. I was informed by an elder that Jampana came from the phrase *Ja m pa ne* ('Hold for me'). Navrose states, "when a child is called Jampana, it means that the child does not want a name after consulting the sooth-sayer." (S.Navrose, "Navrongo Parish Customary Marriage, in Customary Marriage in Navrongo-Bolgatanga Diocese, compiled by Fr A. Kazaresam, n.d.) However, the name, Jampana, is used for many babies before they have received a name as it is the name they will give for the child when they register at the Health Centre.

78. It can be located on the roof, in the *diga-pɔɔɔ*, in the *diga-yugu*, standing in the courtyard, or outside the gate.

79. One man told me he was personally given to a *de* which actually lived in their *sɔḡɔ*. As a child when it came around he was afraid of it and so shouted and cried, but his father told him not to fear it because by coming it showed it cared for him. His father would bring fowls to *kaane* and beg it not to harm the boy.

80. Ayaga, 'Suem', p.7. In Ayaga's paper the *duga* is typed as 'duga' because of no 'ḡ' on the typewriter (pers.com., A.Ayaga).

81. That is all the households which originate from one *sɔḡɔ*.

82. Each house contributes millet to make *guli*. If the child is to be dedicated to a *lira*, the househead kills one fowl and drops some of the blood on the *lira*, and one on the *jona* for the fathers. A bowl of cooked *guli* is placed on the *lira* and one given

to each house to share. The meat from the fowls is shared out. Pito (millet beer) is poured for the fathers and the househead asks for *yazura* (well-being) for the child. The *kadiko* washes the child with the *lira* from the *lira kambia* and gives her some to drink. The househead then announces the child's name. (Ayaga, 'Suem', p.8) The girl could be called *Kalira* for it was *lira* which the girl asked to be bathed in.

83. Ayaga states more strongly that the "duga was the cause of the child's (sic) coming into existence" (*Ibid*, p.8) rather than simply bringing the child into existence.

84. Pers. com., Peter Chana. Navrongo, 14-11-91. He told me that as a child he was never named through the *swεem* ritual. He was simply given the name Chana (which refers to the area west of Navrongo).

85. Either a *lira*, *tangwane*, *wε* or some other *duga* such as a tail (*nabili*), or bangle (*baga*). In 1920, Cardinall reported that "seem" occurred when a child was nearly two and "It consists in the consecration of the infant to a totem or to an ancestor." (Cardinall, *Natives of the Northern Territories*, p.71)

86. The deceased founders of the house. He tells them that the cow is not for himself. He knows the *chira* look after him and the cows. They should know there is hunger, they need to sell a cow, if there is an evil thing against the cow, money or the millet they want to buy, they should take that thing away. He then pours the water on his *nyena*. If a second cow is sold, this is repeated.

87. Individuals and househeads would also *kaane* on their own *jona* for rain.

88. During my fieldwork, people frequently spoke of the difficulties of getting fertilizer, especially as it is only sold now at Navrongo and people then have to pay additional transport charges to bring it to the western section.

89. This is the same term which is used for the human soul/spirit.

90. Some use *liri* (traditional medicine) to spoil another man's crops. A man may see another person's crops are doing well and not his. If he puts a particular *liri* on his farm and takes some of the soil from that man's farm and puts it on his own farm, then his crops grow well and the other man's do not. Some also use *liri* to touch the other person's millet and take away its spirit (*joro*) and bring it to their own millet. This will spoil the other man's crop. I was told "People who do like that do not do well and will have no children."

91. The *chichiru* referred to here, differs from the *chichiru dua* ('*chichiru*' families). If a woman delivers a child which has a large head, the wrong number of fingers or toes, is born with teeth, or has some other trait which makes people suspect it is a *chichiru*, the househead will go to the *voro* to learn what to do. Sometimes they learn he/she is to be left alone. Otherwise, they will learn that it is a *chichiru* and they have to call the *chichiru kwenu* ('*chichiru* taker') who has the *liri* to 'take' the *chichiru* and kill it and throw it away. If they do not take the *chichiru*, it will kill the mother or father. One man said of this type of *chichiru*, "*konto ye tangwam chichiru ko dae*

nabiinu" (it is a *tangwam chichiru*, it is not a human being).

92. *Wɔ mo dae a bu?* (Who is not my child?) is a symbolic statement about the time of year when food is plentifully available. Any stranger coming to the house is fed as a member of the family. The month of October can be referred to as *wɔ mo dae a bu chana* - 'who is not my child month'. (P. Hewer, *The Kasena Calendar and Time Reckoning*, Unpublished ms, Navrongo, 1984, p.8.)

93. Harvest rituals are rarely organized in Central Navrongo now (Awedoba, *Aspects of Wealth and Exchange*, p.139).

94. After the *fao* an individual man may give to his own *yugu we*.

95. Excerpts from the speech by the Chianapio, Pɛ Roland Ayagitam II. On the occasion of the celebration of the First Official Celebration of the Fao festival in this area (From the English version of the speech). Fao Kuri, Chiana, 22 December, 1989.

96. In the Chief's speech he appealed for help with at least seven needs. These included electrification to cover all towns in the area, the upgrading of both the Junior Secondary School in Chiana to a Senior Secondary School and the Health Post to a Health Centre. By 1992, electric power poles had been erected through Chiana and the latter two were upgraded.

97. While a group from Katiu-Saga were trying to decide who would go to a daughter's funeral in another area, a man retorted "*bukɔ ye nɔɔna maama nyem, o dae nɔɔno dedoa bukɔ* (a daughter is everyone's daughter, i.e. the extended family, she is not one man's daughter).

98. Awedoba, *Aspects of Wealth and Exchange*, pp.347a, 348.

99. If a man is unable to find a wife there are a number of routes he can take: consult a *voro* to find out the cause and offer expiatory rites; use *lira* or some other power to help "capture" the woman; or, ask friends to help him elope with a girl.

100. Howell, *Marriage practices among the Kasena*, pp.10,11, Awedoba also mentions this (Awedoba, *Aspects of Wealth and Exchange*, p.343).

101. Traditionally, the Kasena regarded a sexual relationship with a brother's wife as a much more serious offence than with a *bukɔ* (agnate) of the clan-settlement. The latter is disapproved of, but the former bears the possible consequence of death or serious sickness for the adulterer or the woman, if the woman's husband and the adulterer eat from the same bowl, are in the same room or visit one another while the one is ill. (Awedoba, *Aspects of Wealth and Exchange*, p.104.) To prevent them from being affected by this wrong, an expiatory rite was performed on the land (*ba feri ka boŋa*). This literally means "to wipe away/cover the 'boŋa'". Awedoba indicates the *boŋa* rites were originally performed before a group of men went hunting or to war. This also occurred in Chiana area. Today, some elders in Chiana suggest that the *boŋa* rites did not apply to such a wide group as the clan-settlement or even the

nagura. It only applied if you slept with a woman from your *chouro diga*.

102. He was from one of the extended family houses.

103. If the girl is under her father's brother because of the *boore* exchange, the gifts would be directed to the brother and not her father.

104. The marriage events and prestations for Navrongo differ from Chiana. In Chiana cattle are not usually demanded as part of the prestations. The gifts given in the Navrongo area are outlined by a number of Kasena writers (Awedoba, Aspects of Wealth and Exchange, p.359 and Kazaresam, The Kasena of Ghana, p.22, and Navrose, Navrongo Parish Customary Marriage). The practice of "Saliva Spitting" is also not done in Chiana and is perceived as a Nankani practice. However, Chiana and Paga perform the "kayidiri" (Awedoba, Aspects of Wealth and Exchange, p.352).

105. The most critical aspects of the gift giving in the marriage process are the *peiga* (greetings), *tebera* (lit. tell and show), the two sheep of the *bukɔ kɔga wonnu* (women's back things) - *jon* (shrine) and *kadiko* (daughter's) sheep - and the *Kayidiri*.

106. The ceremony is also known as *liɲ puga* (Ayaga, 'Suem', p.3). The *kadiko* comes secretly at night with a black calabash, collects water and a shea nut leaf and then goes to the house when the pregnant woman and her husband are asleep, pours the water on them and departs without being seen. The following morning she is brought together with the woman in a small ritual which announces the pregnancy.

107. Gagnon also mentions her role in new house building. (Gagnon, Les Puissances Occultes, p.56.)

108. Gagnon, Moeurs et Coutumes, p.67.

109. An extended family in Katiu have a *tangwam* (shrine tree) near one of their compounds. A *sɔŋɔ tu* had two married sons whose wives had never delivered children and who also kept running back to their fathers' houses. The *sɔŋɔ tu* went to the *tangwam* with a small chicken and flour water and made a promise to the *tangwam*. He asked the *tangwam* to tell *Wɛ*, so *Wɛ* and the tree would "build" his house. If they "built" his house and he saw it with his eyes, then he would bring a goat and *guli*. He poured flour water, and stood a chicken on top of the stone, then let it run free. Three years later he returned to give thanks, because both wives had stopped running about and had delivered children. They prepared *guli* in their house, killed a goat and brought it to the tree and gave thanks.

110. The men assist in burial activities unless it is forbidden or sit with the elders outside the house. The women stay with the women and provide support both around the body and in provisions. After the burial some of the men will sleep the three or four nights outside the house under the shelter and some of the women will stay with the women or prepare food and send in for the *diga nia* ('room' people). When people come to greet after the burial, they will greet all the houses of the extended family.

111. Awedoba indicates that in the Navrongo area, one *Kwo bu* lineage or segment will conduct the burial rites of the members of the other lineage because of the grief the members of the lineage in which the death has occurred experience thus meaning that they are not able to perform the funeral responsibilities correctly (Awedoba, Aspects of Wealth and Exchange, p.121, 122).

112. The funeral performance sometimes occurs some years after the burial and is in two parts.

113. The youngest son gives a fowl to the *nakwe tu*. He tells the *chira* that the *jona* are no longer in the hands of the youngest son, but are now for the new guardian. This man also gives a fowl which is killed and the *chira* are informed that he has to work with them now. Therefore, *kaanem* occurs twice: to release the son from the *jona* and present them to the right person, and second to receive them. In Kasem they say "*o ma o le o jeŋa*" (he uses it he removes his hand).

114. *churu* refers to the place of the ancestors. People sometimes also say they have gone to *wε sɔŋɔ* (God's house).

115. I attended a woman's funeral at Chiana-Kalivio with her father's house people (from Katiu-Saga). The househead from her father's house told me several days later, they were expecting the husband's house people to come and take their wife back to his house.

116. Two terms, *teim* and *liri* are used for medicine. Many people seem to use the terms interchangeably.

117. They may learn the person cut down a tree in the bush. The tree itself speaks and says he has let sickness come on the man for wrongly cutting down the tree.

118. Cardinall reported that migrants took earth from their shrines in the north to continue sacrifice in the south. (Cardinall, *Natives of the Northern Territories*, p.45.)

119. A *sɔŋɔ tu* may go to the *voro* and find that the *chira* are annoyed with him and have let a thief come to steal his groundnuts or to even allowed his cattle to stray, therefore he has to talk to the *chira* to get them back.

120. People also do other practical things to catch thieves, such as watching crops, or putting *lira* against thieves in their house to immobilise the person. In extreme cases the *sɔŋɔ tu* calls everyone together and warns them to confess who has been taking the things. If no one speaks, he could show them a piece of rope he is holding over the *chira* and warn them that if he drops it on the *chira* they will use it to "hold" (sickness attacks) the person and the person will not be able to get away. However, the *chira* are able to move across distances and so if a child has stolen a goat and run to Kumasi, the *sɔŋɔ tu* would not say anything to the *chira*. If he did, the *chira* would go to Kumasi and harm the boy there. This is a serious route to take and if a *sɔŋɔ tu* cares, he would rather call the *voro* to come and *pwe chira*.

121. NAG-A. ADM 56/1/486. *NT Annual Report*, 1916, Ag. CCNT, Montray-Read. This was re-stated in the 1930's. "To the average native of the Protectorate his religion is the most important thing in his life. It pervades everything he does, and all his actions outside the ordinary routine of daily life are governed by the dictates of the fetishes." (NAG-A. ADM 5/1/70. *NT Annual Report*, 1937-38, p.87.)

122. Kzaresam, *The Kasena of Ghana*, p.39.

123. When a person insults the *chira*, people watch the offender. If he becomes sick and no matter what treatment he receives, does not improve, then someone consults the *voro* and learns that the *chira* are holding the victim because he insulted them. The victim will have to greet them to make peace. *Ba yoore* - "They apologise" through giving water and a fowl and use ash as a part of the reconciliation process.

124. *Tij ni* (lit. put down mouth). A *voro* told me the work of a *voro* is very difficult because of people who come and take this type of action which is wrong. He would tell the person to find another *voro* for his stick does not know that way of divining.

125. One man told me that when bullock ploughing was first introduced, initially people only used bullock ploughs for ploughing groundnuts, not millet because millet was the chief food of the ancestors. If they used ploughs for millet, the ancestors would trouble them. However, people began to change when they saw someone use them and it did not "ask" them, and they also saw how it increased their yield. It was a similar process with the building of square rooms. The *chira* did not know them so if one person built a square room, they would watch and if nothing happened, then more would follow.

126. Both Rattray and Kzaresam clearly support this. (Rattray, *The Tribes of the Ashanti Hinterland*, pp.42,43 and Kzaresam, *The Kasena of Ghana*, p.40).

127. Cardinall, *Natives of the Northern Territories*, p.22.

128. *Ibid*, p.23. In the Chiana area today, *nakwia tiina* indicated that either *lira* or sometimes a person's *yugu we* is built on the roof. In the Paga area, there are five types of shrines which can be located on the roofs, none of which are associated with the private or direct worship of the creator God: (a) *yugu we* of a married woman who had a particular *we* in her father's house which is transferred after her marriage; (b) *duga* - if a particular *we* brought a child to the earth, this is his *duga*; (c) some *lira* for protection; (d) when a househead hears at the *voro* that the *we* of an old departed woman wants to be built on the roof; and, (e) *yia sena lira* (red eye medicine) for consulting in serious matters. It is only in Navrongo that *nakwia tiina* have referred to *nayuu we* (rooftop god) which some claim is related to *We*, and is only located in the roofs of certain "landlords" houses where they directly *kaane We*.

129. Cardinall, *Natives of the Northern Territories*, p.24.

130. *Ibid*.

131. Der, "God and Sacrifice," pp.172-187.
132. Gagnon, *Moeurs et Coutumes*, p.189.
133. Gagnon, "Les Kassenes, II," p.118.
134. Der, "God and Sacrifice," p.177.
135. Gagnon, *Moeurs et Coutumes*, p.190.
136. *Ibid*, pp.190,191.
137. An elder gave me another explanation. As the *doa tu* is forbidden to use *doa* for rain, but refers to it as *wε*, he thus refers to the *doa diga* as *wε diga*. The room is built in three layers, so rain does not touch the shrine otherwise, rain will fall for years. Some say the room is for *Baga Wε* (God) himself who brings the water. No one goes inside the room except the *doa tu* as it is *Wε* alone who stays there. When the *doa tu* goes to *kaane* in the room, he washes and dries his hands before going in the room. They use only *guli* to *kaane* on the shrine.
138. Der, "God and Sacrifice," p.178.
139. In a discussion with Fr. Kazaresam on this issue, he indicated that early writers did not always perceive the issue correctly and there was not widespread evidence for existence of the *wε-diga* as a room for God. (Pers. com., Navrongo, 14-11-1991)
140. Awedoba, *Aspects of Wealth and Exchange*, p.89.
141. Wedjong, *Kasena Sinseri*, p.38, no.284, 282.
142. Awedoba, *Aspects of Wealth and Exchange*, p.437.
143. *Ibid*.
144. Ayaga, 'Suem, p.1.
145. Kazaresam, *The Kasena of Ghana*, pp.39,40.
146. *Ibid*, p.40.
147. Der, "God and Sacrifice," p.175.
148. NAG-A. ADM 63/5/8. Informal Diary-Navrongo, June 1939-May 1940, 27-1-40.
149. In Chiana, *pisεga* is for Gwenia; *kola* is for Asunia; Zambao is over the whole area. Sometimes people refer to the smaller *tangwana* as "Zambao *bia*" (Zambao's children).

150. For a number of years, a dispute occurred with the people of Saga over the continuation of the Saga market. Between 1927 and 1935, it was opened and closed several times. The Saga people claimed it was the *tangwane* market, but it was finally closed to allow the Katiu market to flourish. (NAG-A. ADM 63/5/1. pp.410,413.)

151. People say "*tangwane бага ye gεεre mo*" (Tangwane top is necessity). If a person searches for something and fails to find it, he or she will take the choice that is available, not because the person desires to do so, but because there is no other option. They therefore go to the *tangwane* because they feel there is no other option.

152. One elder referred to them as the "*tangwana polici*". They keep harmony in the bush.

153. Kazaresam, *The Kasena of Ghana*, p.48.

154. *Yazura* can be translated as health, well-being, peace, to be "free" and it is related to the concept of "coolness".

155. Cardinall, *Natives of the Northern Territories*, p.142.

156. Awedoba, *Aspects of Wealth and Exchange*, p.124.

157. *Ibid*, p.137.

158. *Ibid*.

159. Personal observation, Katiu, 1983.

160. WFD: 20-2-1953.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE INTRODUCTION OF THE CHRISTIAN GOSPEL TO THE KASENA

1. Introduction

Three background features underlying Kasena life today are: decades of living in apprehension of slave raiders, subsisting in a fragile eco-system where the shortage of rain often threatened survival, and the organisation of their family infrastructure which incorporates those who have died. In the previous chapter, we noted some of the ways Kasena families attempt to resolve issues they face in life and how their reactions portray their belief that the spiritual realm is intricately interwoven with their physical life. This then is the context into which the gospel of Jesus Christ was introduced to the Kasena.

The main purpose of Chapters four and five is to present the Kasena reaction to the Christian gospel. Chapter four concentrates on the years from 1906 to the mid 1950s during which the White Fathers' Mission was the only mission to function actively in the north. Chapter five examines the expanding response to the gospel in the last forty years and the factors which have contributed to this.

As archival material on the early years and the work of the Catholic Church is written from the perspective of missionaries and administrators, I sought to piece together the Kasena response to the gospel message through the 185 Personal History (PH) interviews. The people interviewed were selected on the basis of being involved with the beginning of any church group. Some of those interviewed are now no longer members of that church: a few ceased to attend church, while others changed churches. I relied on the written documentation for information related to the Catholic church in the Navrongo area, and interviewed Catholics mainly from the Western section. However, I attempted to interview some in every Protestant and Independent church throughout the Kasena area, but it was not possible to locate each recently

established church group. Appendix Four contains a summary of these interviews. In addition, I held discussions with old men and women who are now not associated with the church to learn what they could remember of the years when the White Fathers and catechists first arrived.

In the interviews I sought to learn what the person knew of the origins of *Wε choga* (God's way) in their area; why they wanted to follow *Wε choga* and finally what difficulties they faced when they began to follow *Wε choga*. I attempted to interview people individually, but this was not always possible as some church leaders had organised a small group of people to talk with me.

2. Coming of the White Fathers and the introduction of *Wε choga*

In early 1905, the White Fathers¹ sought permission to commence a new work in northern Ghana because they feared expulsion from the French territory of Haute Volta (now Burkina Faso) following the anti-clerical laws passed in France.² Their purpose and method was made clear from the outset. Fr. Templier wrote

Avant tout, nous nous occuperons de faire des chrétiens. A ce sujet je dois dire que c'est pour nous une règle invariable d'instruire les peuples dans la la (sic) langue qu'ils parlent; et le premier soin des missionaries est d'apprendre cette langue. Avec la Religion nous enseignons nécessairement aux indigènes le respect de la Puissance qui les protège est (sic) les gouverne c'est pour nous un devoir de conscience.³

They also indicated they would introduce cotton cultivation and teach weaving. The Acting Colonial Secretary initially refused this request because there was no administrative officer located in the area to guarantee their protection and that of their property.⁴ When permission was given to open a station, two conditions were stipulated: they were to locate close to the Military Post at Navrongo, and they were to establish a school in which only English was spoken.⁵ On 23 April, 1906, Fathers Chollet, Morin and Brother Eugène arrived at the Navrongo Post and founded the Mission of Our Lady of the Seven Sorrows.⁶ They immediately selected a site for buildings and with the assistance of 100 to 150 workers supplied by the chief built four huts within a month.⁷

(1) Government aims, missionary ideals and Kasena fears

The White Fathers had a tense relationship with the British Administration in the early years. The authorities wanted a school established which trained pupils for government service. They perceived the work of the missionaries as that of "civilisation" through giving children religious instruction and regular courses in English as well as practical lessons in growing cotton and making bricks.⁸ However, the White Fathers, desired to learn language and evangelise. They surveyed the area and estimated 7,500 to 8,000 people lived in a 5 km radius of the Mission. They proposed to group about 3,000 children into 20 catechism groups and decided to translate the catechism into Nankane because they believed all "Navarro" people understood it.⁹

The White Fathers immediately attempted to start a school, built a small Chapel and explained the purpose of the school to a number of chiefs. The chiefs promised to send children, but none did so. The White Fathers wanted instruction enforced, but the government refused to do this.¹⁰ Although the school did not begin, the Fathers commenced translating the catechism into Nankane, treated increasing numbers of sick people at a small dispensary and visited compounds.¹¹ As they contemplated starting evangelisation, they noted that, "Les obstacles semblent nombreux tant à cause de la langue qu'à cause des coutumes et moeurs des habitants."¹² During building work in early 1907, they noticed none of the children understood Nankane and through more systematic visiting found the majority of people were "Gourounsi" in the 1,035 compounds within 6 km of the Mission.¹³ Fr. Morin then brought a young man to their settlement to help teach them "le beau langage de nos Gourounsi, le Kasene."¹⁴

After 18 months, the White Fathers still had no pupils at their school. They explained to A. Watherston that they were "learning Grunshi" and furthermore, the Chief did not want the children to learn English. Watherston claimed the Chief denied this.¹⁵ Awedoba points out that the Kasena-Nankana did not warmly welcome the

Fathers and the Navrongo Chief Kwara openly disliked them.¹⁶ Watherston complained strongly to the Colonial Secretary about the Fathers lack of progress and asked for the removal of Fr. Chollet. In a letter to the Fr. Superior he stated "Idle whitemen, the first the natives have seen, have produced anything but a good effect in the country."¹⁷ Watherston's critical report prejudiced the Governor against the Mission. The Colonial Secretary warned Watherston that unless a school started in the following six months he would seriously consider whether the White Fathers should be allowed to remain.¹⁸ The result was, Fr. Chollet was recalled and Fr. Morin was made Superior of the Mission in Navrongo.¹⁹ Der points out that Watherston not only misunderstood the missionaries goals to learn the language and gain acceptance by the people before beginning evangelisation: he had little appreciation of the problems associated with beginning a new work.²⁰ Watherston was not interested in mission work seeing it only as a means to promote his goals in education. Furthermore, he regarded Missionary Societies as biased and argued it was "absolutely wrong" that the task of education be left to them.²¹ The missionaries were all French Canadians and linked to their society in the French territory. Their close proximity to the border created fears amongst British officials that this French link could be used to extend French territory into the Northern Territories. This fear hampered mission expansion during the following decade.

Watherston instructed the Commandant to do all in his power to induce people to send their children to school.²² The Fathers reported the reason people feared sending their children to school. "Les Gourounsi soupçonnent un piège: Leurs enfants une fois instruits seront pris au Service des autorités et quitteront leur pays."²³ Watherston then suggested that some force be used to make people send children to school.²⁴ However, when the Captain appealed to the Chief of Navrongo for pupils, the chief re-stated the fears people had. "On craint que l'école ne soit un guet-apens. Les Blancs ameneront les élèves à la côte."²⁵ The Captain attempted to dispel the fear by explaining "que les enfants qu'il enverra chez nous, apprendront les uns à travailler, les autres à parler l'anglais, que tous pourront être un jour employées à la station, soit comme interprète, soit comme ouvriers, et gagneront beaucoup d'argent."²⁶ The

expression of these fears and the fact that in the early years people ran away from white men when they went to their communities, were not taken seriously. Even Helene Pfann trivialises the fear by claiming that people ran because "Pagans had seldom seen Europeans before and were frightened of them. They believed the silly stories, which the fetish priests, who feared the strangers' influence, spread on the purpose."²⁷ However, the Kasena experienced decades of slave raiding when their family members were sent as slaves to the coast and as illustrated in Chapter two, in 1906 men from both Chiana and Navrongo were taken to see the coastal mines as a means of persuading them to go south and work. The Kasena fears were real and justified. Why should they trust "the whites" any more than Babatu?

Finally, on 16 December 1907 the school commenced with 26 terrified pupils. The Fathers perceived the pupils as potential catechumens who would make an impression on the population and make people discontent with "leur obscur fétichisme."²⁸ The school soon faced difficulties and after some months only two or three continued to come spasmodically.²⁹ The Fathers again requested the use of force to make children come to school, but this was refused.³⁰ Each Chief of the towns adjacent to Navarro including Chiana, and Kayoro was asked to send a boy of about 12 years of age to the School.³¹ In December 1908, the Fathers reported that Captain Nash sent them 6 children from "Tyana" for the school.³² In the opinion of older Kasena today, these children were forcibly sent to school.³³ When the Fathers returned the children to "Tjana", they were received royally by Chief Azosere. He requested the Fathers stay and he offered to build a house and send them all the children they wanted.³⁴

(2) Evangelisation and opposition

The process of evangelisation began through the first "Gourounsi" catechism in May 1908.³⁵ Every Sunday the Fathers met with young people and one man, "Sayere" from Paga, who helped translate the catechism. He was zealous, but he had 3 wives and the Father comments that although he had taken these in good faith "Le

bon Dieu saura bien s'y prendre pour en faire un bon chrétien. Le voici déjà libéré d'une de ses femmes."³⁶ By the end of 1908, Watherston reported that the Fathers had "mastered the language" and were making small progress, with fairly large numbers attending Mass daily.³⁷ Initially, the Fathers appear to have mainly taught children the catechism at the mission. The Fathers saw some evidence of zeal and dedicated a chapel in February 1910.³⁸ However, the zeal diminished by the fourth anniversary of their arrival. The Fathers noted the "Gourounsi" were unsympathetic to their message. Besides a catechism group at the Mission every Sunday, two groups were held in the village each week with around 150 postulants, but numbers decreased during farming.³⁹

The translation of the catechism into Kasem provided the foundation for communicating *Wε choga*. The White Fathers appear to have used the term "God's way" as a way of describing "Christianity" and the term was not exclusive to the Kasena. Over 20 years after the White Fathers founded their mission at Navrongo, their missionaries also began to communicate the gospel in the Bobo communities of Sya and Tounouna (now Bobo-Dioulasso) about 1,400 km west of the Kasena in Burkina Faso. Anselme Sanon, himself a Bobo, relates how the missionaries lived near villages "afin d'apprendre la langue bobo, moyen le plus efficace à l'annonce du 'chemin de Dieu: wùrò-sogo'."⁴⁰ He states that "à leur arrivée donc les missionnaires se présentèrent comme des hommes de dieu: sans doute laissaient-ils entendre qu'ils apportaient un 'nouveau chemin de Dieu', mais la nouveauté était à propos du chemin en non à propos de Dieu."⁴¹ Sanon's analysis provides helpful insights into the Kasena exposure to the gospel and for they too became preoccupied with "a way" rather than God.

Late in 1910, the Fathers requested permission to establish a convent at Navrongo as this was a way to firmly set up "civilisation."⁴² They argued that "For the least pretext, a woman deserts her husband and lives with another one, ready to begin a new (sic) after a while. There is practically no family, no domestic society, and our efforts are paralyzed (sic) by this independence and liberty of woman."⁴³ The

government refused the request,⁴⁴ so the Fathers began a catechism with 7 Kasena women.⁴⁵ In December 1910, the first "Gourounsi" Christians were baptised at Navrongo: Peter Seyire, Paul Abatey, John Akole, Augustine Atiyire and Joseph Alekye.⁴⁶ The Fathers continued to establish new catechism groups in areas around Navrongo and were commended for having made progress in education that year.⁴⁷

In February 1911, the Fathers first noted evidence of opposition to *Wε choŋa*. An old man sacrificed a "bois sacré" (*tangwam*) and placed an amulet on the necks of all who attended catechism.⁴⁸ This amulet was to avert the influence the Fathers exerted over the youth going to the catechism. Everyone then deserted the catechism. Although this occurred, the Fathers indicated they were reaching all sections of Navrongo by mid-1911 and approximately 250-300 people were attending weekly catechism classes.⁴⁹

The administration reported favourably on the work of the mission at the end of 1911.⁵⁰ About 50 boys attended school. The Fathers taught them to read and write in "Grunshi" as they argued that if they first learned in their own language, they improved more quickly in English reading.⁵¹ A census in 1911 enumerated 93 baptised Christians.⁵² The Fathers expanded their practical activities to create opportunities for Christians to work in the dry season. They argued that the Kasena only knew how to farm, and that the dry season was "une fête continuelle où l'on danse et boit du dolo en l'honneur des morts."⁵³ They requested land to grow cotton, flax, rice and potatoes. They aimed to induce Kasena to grow these crops and as well as to teach spinning, partially in an effort to induce people to wear clothes.⁵⁴ The Government and not the local chiefs leased land to them.⁵⁵ The Fathers also continued to teach catechism groups and by the end of 1912, the first women catechumens were admitted for baptism along with 44 others.⁵⁶

The administration viewed the school students only in terms of their potential to fulfil needs as skilled labour, clerks and interpreters.⁵⁷ This was evident in 1912 for the Chief Commissioner, Cecil H. Armitage was particularly hostile towards the

Mission and portrayed a negative image of the Mission to the colonial authorities which then biased their reactions. He described the school as unsuccessful, and argued their real purpose for being there was "proselytism".⁵⁸ He recommended they should not be allowed to extend their influence. When he visited Navrongo, he explained that the Governor refused to allow them to establish the convent because the school had produced few appreciable results and the workshop even fewer.⁵⁹ The Provincial Commissioner continued to criticise, reporting that the school had not produced a single boy who was able to write or speak English.⁶⁰ He described a new group of students in 1913 as being "merely instructed in Grunshi, in passages of the Mass, and as soon as they are capable of repeating these, they return to their homes. From an educational point of view it is a perfect farce."⁶¹ The Provincial Commissioner did not entirely blame the White Fathers, but acknowledged that parents objected to children being away from home for the time required to complete the instruction. However, he still maintained this was superficial religious instruction and he recommended the establishment of a Government School at Navarro which the Chief Commissioner R.Irvine then requested because the Mission School "from a secular point of view, ... is a distinct failure as an Educational medium."⁶²

The pupils ceased attending school during harvesting and sowing times which contributed to further poor reports.⁶³ When the war commenced in 1915, the Fathers closed the school through lack of funds and it remained closed throughout the war.⁶⁴ Ironically, the administration then acknowledged that educational work continued "since the teaching of Christian beliefs cannot be other than Education".⁶⁵ The Fathers re-opened the school in 1921, with 22 pupils and a district official gave a favourable report of their work in teaching carpentry, masonry, hat and rope mat making.⁶⁶

By 1923 there were 18 pupils and the school had a Kasena Christian master whom the Fathers supervised, but Colonial authorities described the emphasis in education as more religious than secular.⁶⁷ The following year, the Government reported favourably that children were now being turned away from the school and those who first attended the schools were returning to their homes, beginning the work

of propagation and were "making great strides among their brethren."⁶⁸ The earlier criticism of the Fathers' religious emphasis in the school lessened and the government now clearly linked the Church and education. They even suggested that the catechist training established by the Fathers would "revolutionize the district and in no long time the Church and therefore education will be strongly founded in this part."⁶⁹ In spite of this, the government refused to grant the Fathers permission to expand and commence schools in other areas unless they provided evidence of an adequate curriculum for the schools. The Fathers perceived this expansion as a means of preventing Protestant Missions from being able to open work in the north.⁷⁰

On each occasion the authorities criticised the educational record of the school, the Fathers did not hide the main purpose of their work. When the Government refused them permission to found the convent, the Father Superior defended the Mission by stating that

le but principal des missionnaires était l'évangélisation des infidèles; que pour l'école ils avaient fait ce qu'ils pouvaient faire, étant donné les circonstances; qu'une école industrielle demandait des dépenses considérables et qu'il ne pouvait employer à cela l'argent qui lui était donné par des catholiques uniquement pour l'évangélisation; qu'une pareille école ne pouvait du reste former que des déclassés, étant donné que l'administration ne pouvait assurer un travail régulier aux élèves qui en sortiraient.⁷¹

Fr. Morin expanded this aim to the Chief Commissioner in 1924.

You are not without knowing that our first object, as Missionaries, is the evangelization of heathen. But, in fact, it is our sincere will to open schools in our missions, because language teaching, as well as trade training, are means of apostleship. Our work of civilization would be far incomplete if, with religious knowledges, (sic) we should not endeavour to raise up the level of these savages by giving them ways to come out of their degradation, idleness and inertness. But I take the liberty to make you observe that this cannot be done in one day, and the actual state of these people must be taken into account.⁷²

To the Fathers, evangelisation was implicitly associated with civilisation. Morin acknowledged that opening an English school had been a condition of the permission given to establish the mission, but they had battled with denial and distrust from a people he claimed did not understand the benefit of instruction. He pointed out that

the closure of the school during the war, meant children had no opportunity to practise their English and they forgot it. Morin reminded the government that they could not force children to come and only worked through persuasion when distrust had vanished. He outlined their achievements: more than 500 children were Christians and as many catechumens were being carefully prepared through four years of instruction and probation before baptism, and a yearly average of 10,000 patients were seen either in their dispensary or in homes.⁷³ As the Government considered the missionaries to be "French Spies",⁷⁴ Morin sought to open a new mission and detach themselves from their headquarters in Ouagadougou. Der argues that the Government's objection to the establishment of the convent and their expansion into new areas was politically motivated.⁷⁵ As well as the Government being nervous of the Mission's link to the French Colony, R.Bening points to evidence that the Government refused them permission to expand because the missionaries "acquired the local languages faster than political officers."⁷⁶ Permission to establish the convent only occurred after influential English Catholics wrote to the Secretary of State.⁷⁷

The Government's attitude to the White Fathers Mission and school work, became more positive and they approved opening a new station in January 1925.⁷⁸ They issued a Grant of £225 for School buildings at Navrongo in late 1925 and the new buildings were completed the following March.⁷⁹ At the beginning of 1926, Navrongo was made into an independent Prefecture which enhanced its status with the Government.⁸⁰ From this point on the Mission expanded educational work in both Navrongo and other areas such as the Frafra and Bulsa. They received positive reports and by 1937, opened a Senior Secondary School in Navrongo to train teachers.⁸¹ The District Commissioner complimented the Mission school training when he indicated that all the clerks working for the Native Administrations were Mission trained, were honest, well-mannered and keen on their work.⁸²

From the outset, the White Fathers were forced through governmental pressure to place great emphasis on education and to invest highly in schools. This had a profound influence on their methods of evangelisation and the schooling system

became the main route through which evangelisation took place. When the Native Authority schools were built in the 1940s and 50s, the Fathers and catechists taught catechism in them and by 1952, the Fathers reported that in all the schools, children were eager to learn the catechism and about 250 had received medals.⁸³

(3) The fluctuating response to the Christian message

In the early years, the Fathers emphasized evangelisation of adults. In 1912 about 500 adults attended the Mission for religious instruction.⁸⁴ When the Fathers later reflected on their work they indicated that in the first six years they had been encouraged by the results. "Everything seemed to indicate a mass conversion among the Grunshi people. Unfortunately, a Christian abandoning his religion, succeeded in drawing away with him, the majority of catechumens."⁸⁵ The actual date of this event is not mentioned, but the Fathers did report at the beginning of 1913 that the zeal of the neophytes fell and people infrequently attended mass.⁸⁶ The Fathers inaugurated a Catechist school with three pupils, Frédéric Sakéa, Albert Dedono and Gabriel Tibiru and numbers coming to mass increased.⁸⁷ However, the Provincial Commissioner noted that "people are not in least fanatical about their own Religion, and do not exhibit signs of being enthusiastic about any other form of worship."⁸⁸ He claimed that people did not show resentment towards those of other denominations, and were "sufficiently broad minded to allow all members of their communities to decide these questions for themselves."⁸⁹ This was a premature claim, for by 1914, Mgr Fr. Lebrun felt it necessary "dire quelques vérités aux 'Vieux' qui s'opposent de plus en plus dans ce quartier au catéchisme."⁹⁰

About 300-400 attended catechism classes around Navarro in 1914. As well as the resident pupils at the school, the Fathers started "a voluntary school" in the dry season at which people learned to read their own language and speak English. About 70-80 attended daily and after six months 50 pupils were given a Kasem prayer book and catechism. The administration described the 287 whom the Fathers called Christians as "so-called converts" whose Christianity was "of a very easy going type,

with a large dash of fetish belief thrown in."⁹¹ In 1915 the Fathers blamed poor attendance at catechism and mass on a severe famine.⁹² Administrative reports at this time suggested that once converts were away from the influence of the Fathers they soon reverted "to their Pagan habits"⁹³ and that Christianity was "only skin deep."⁹⁴ The 1921 census enumerated 43,930 Kasena, of which 601 were Christians.⁹⁵

In 1924 Fr. Morin claimed that "The fetich (sic) hostility has nearly totally disappeared, and we have the esteem of the people who call for us in their sickness and for every kind of help; and a good number of old pagans even sorcerers, do not want to die without calling for us to get baptized."⁹⁶ After 20 years presence in Navrongo there were approximately 600 Christian converts.⁹⁷ Fr. Kazaresam suggests that these are poor figures considering the density of population in the area and he asks whether the methods used and the identification of the missionaries with the British Colonial officers contributed to this.⁹⁸

(4) The role of the catechists

The Mission sought to extend its work through the training of catechists and in 1923 four young men were sent to the catechist school in Ouagadougou.⁹⁹ The administration stated that the Fathers "work of conversion is slower than that of other Missions on the Coast because they have personally to convert every recruit, although the Native converts attract others."¹⁰⁰ Therefore they acknowledged the role of Christians themselves in influencing others. The Fathers attributed an increase in the numbers baptised in 1927 to the zeal of the catechists.¹⁰¹ During the dry season of 1927, 11 catechists visited all the surrounding villages everyday.¹⁰² By 1934, there were 116 catechists.¹⁰³ The Catholic Mission had many adherents in Navrongo and its environs, but in other areas, its influence was limited to villages where catechists were based. However, at this time Kasena are described as "very difficult people to convert."¹⁰⁴ In 1935, the Fathers lamented that they had the least number of adults being admitted for baptism in 8 years.¹⁰⁵ They perceived the cause to be because people in the environs of the mission now knew the teachings of the Catholics, but

they lacked the courage to make the necessary sacrifices to become Christians, and the difficulties of the Christian life hindered them. Furthermore, some Christians did not conduct themselves well, which brought their religion into disfavour. By 1939, the administration indicated that the Mission had placed catechists in each village where there was support for the Mission and that considerable support for the Mission had been shown in some sections of Navrongo and at Chiana. He described the relations between Christians and "Pagans" as good and the Christians showed "the same respect to the authority of their Pagan Chiefs as do the Pagans themselves."¹⁰⁶ These chiefs respected the Fathers, gave them sites for chapels and attended services at the Cathedral on special occasions. The DC also indicated that the Chief and headmen put no interference in the way the Christian community exercised its religion with the result that there was seldom any friction.¹⁰⁷

(5) The increase of educational institutions

From the 1930s, the institutions associated with the Mission increased. A small seminary opened in 1931 with 10 students.¹⁰⁸ In 1934, the Mission established a postulancy for African Sisters followed by a senior secondary school for training teachers. A catechists school began in February 1942 at Navrongo and two years later, a 10 month central school for catechists commenced.¹⁰⁹ Between 1941 and 1983, 14 Catholic schools opened in the Navrongo Parish.¹¹⁰ Kazaresam argues that although the institutions were regarded as a success from a missionary perspective, they "were being watched by the mass of the people as foreign institutions which had nothing to do with their concrete lives."¹¹¹

It was not until 1946, that the ordination of the first Kasena priest, Alexis Abatey took place.¹¹² His father, Paul Abatey, had been one of the first five baptised in Navrongo. Fr. Abatey's ordination was followed by those of Frs. Richard Pwamang and Rudolph Akanlu in 1950.¹¹³ Between 1955 and 1988, 12 others from the Navrongo District became priests.¹¹⁴ In 1973, Bishop Akanlu became the first Kasena Bishop and Kazaresam points out that it took 67 years for the White Fathers to give

the direction of the Church into Kasena hands.¹¹⁵ Among the priests ordained in the last 25 years, Frs. Lucas Abadamloora and Augustine Ayaga are both the sons of Chiana catechists and they reflect the story of the Christian message in Chiana area.

3. Hearing about *We choŋa* in the western Kasena-Nankana section

(1) The story of Anemana

The story of the transmission of the gospel to the western section begins with the children forcefully taken to the Fathers' school at Navrongo in December 1908. One of the children, Anemana, was probably born around 1895 in Chiana Wurunia¹¹⁶ (Figure 12). He and two others, Adyege and Adedura, were listed as still attending the school in 1912.¹¹⁷ That year Anemana and possibly the other two were baptised. Several times the Fathers made trips to Chiana because the pupils appeared to want to abandon their schooling.¹¹⁸ At the end of 1915, the Fathers reported that "Henri" (Anemana) and "Raphaël" (Adyege), left for Tamale to join the Constabulary. The Fathers feared for their faith, as nearly all the soldiers were Hausa or Muslim.¹¹⁹ In 1920, Henry Anemana returned to the north, having been released from the service for menacing a woman with a cutlass.¹²⁰ He married Kachaare from Katiu and she delivered two daughters.¹²¹ They sent their elder daughter, Rita Apukochana, to school in Navrongo where she was baptised.

Anemana contracted what appeared to be leprosy and his condition deteriorated badly. Fr. Gagnon reported that his neighbours harassed him and made him wear amulets and *kwara* (horns) on his neck which he was unable to remove as the leprosy had eaten away his hands.¹²² However, Gagnon indicated that Anemana remained faithful to God. "Pendant que l'enfer s'acharne a (sic)¹²³ sa perte, le bon Dieu n'oublie pas son cher lepreux. Malgré les insultes de son entourage, en depit des tracasseries de toutes sortes, il a vecu dans la justice et la verite, gardant son coeur uniquement pour Dieu."¹²⁴ The catechists repeatedly tried to visit Anemana, but his neighbours obstructed them. On one occasion, the househead said to them, "C'est votre religion

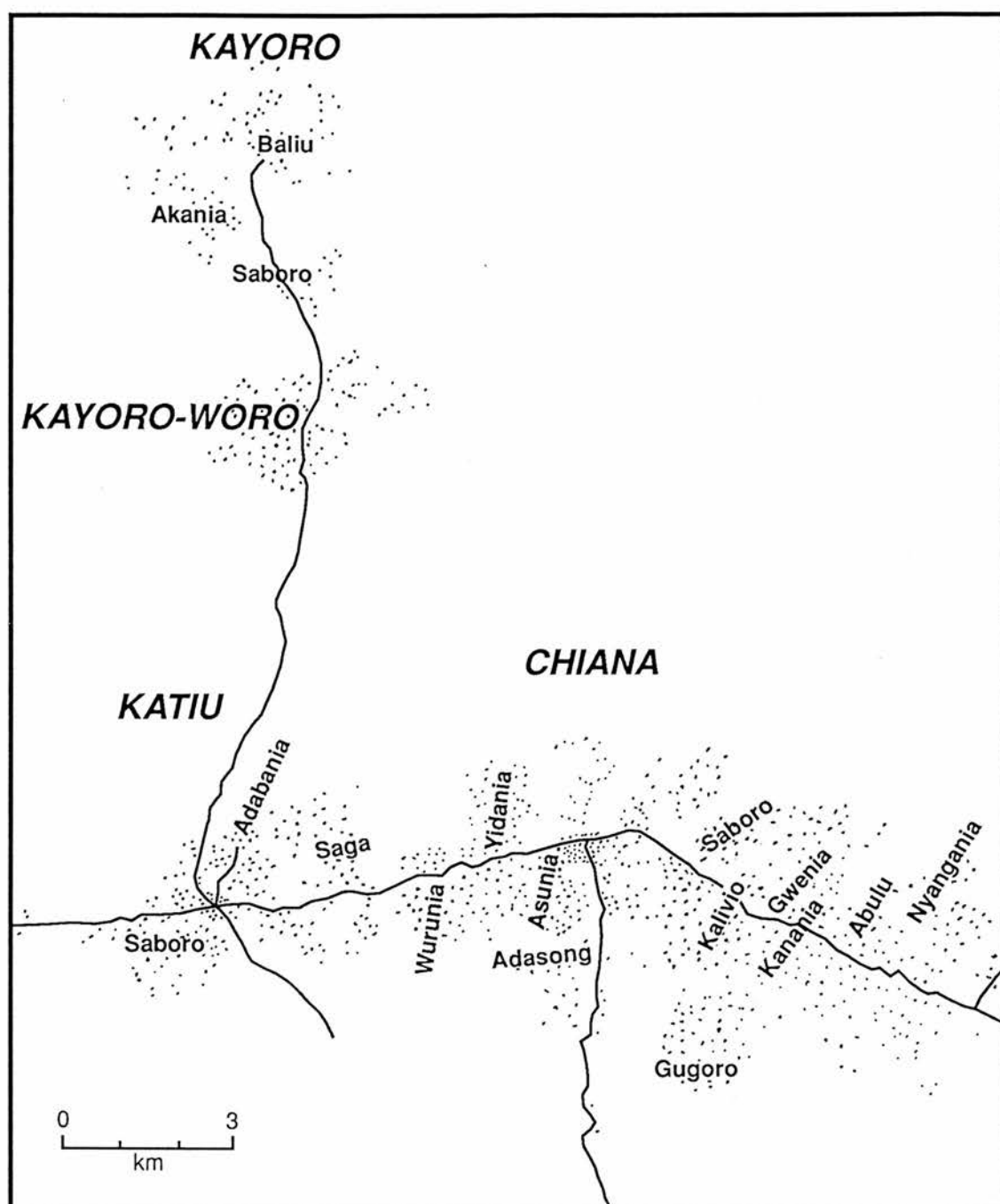


Figure 12. Clan-Settlements of Chiana, Katiu and Kayoro.

qui a perdu Anemana ... Votre n'etes que des meurtiers qui parcourez le pays pour nous perdre."¹²⁵ Shortly after this incident, Gagnon visited Chiana and the catechist, Eusibio took him to visit Anemana. Everyone was absent except for Anemana who called them to come saying: "Pere, toi ici? Que je suis heureux; vraiment le bon Dieu m'aime."¹²⁶ Gagnon then remarked "Henry se confesse comme quelqu'un qui sent l'approche de la mort. Il reglait ses derniers comptes avec un Dieu qu'il avait aime et servi de son mieux."¹²⁷ Anemana pleaded with Gagnon to give him the Eucharist before his death. When Gagnon returned the next day, the househead tried to prevent him from seeing Anemana, but after Gagnon and those with him reasoned with the househead, he left the house, leaving Gagnon the opportunity to administer the Sacrament to Anemana. Anemana died several days later.¹²⁸

(2) The commencement of evangelisation in Abulu

After Anemana and the others were taken to school, there was little evidence of active communication of *Wε choga* in Chiana until the installation of the first catechist in 1926.¹²⁹ He was well received by the Chief, who also promised to construct a small room for the Father. Six months later, 9 young people from Chiana came to learn the catechism at Navrongo. It is uncertain who these were, but the Fathers hoped they would be useful as catechists. They felt there would be greater success with evangelism if catechists lived in their own villages.¹³⁰ Fr.Lapointe and two catechists Gabriel Tiburu and Eusibio Bazoweni, both from Navrongo Korania, began visiting the Abulu area. Peter Atongwo was the first to respond and catechists stayed in his compound.¹³¹ At first, they roamed from house to house, greeted people, and wrote down the names of those who wanted to come and learn. One old man told me that the Fathers first started with women and children. Later both the Fathers and the catechists waited under a tree and blew a trumpet to call all the people to come for teaching. This method was repeated in Gwenia, Asunia, Katiu-Saga and Kayoro.

Atongwo's family disapproved of him following *Wε choga* and they refused to help him with his activities. He was baptised in 1934 and he with other Christians

built a small chapel which Fr. Lapointe dedicated in February, 1935.¹³² A group continued to meet and a number of others from Abulu and Gwenia were baptised (See Appendix five). One man from Gwenia called Azomoro, heard the Fathers' teaching.¹³³ His wife had a lengthy illness and he used many animals and fowls to *kaane jona* for her sickness. He lost everything and then his wife died. He realized *jona-kaanem* was "setaane" and had no meaning so he agreed to follow *We choga*. He also encouraged his son, Moses Adayira to follow *We choga*. Moses had three wives and when he heard that to "collect sacrament" you were only allowed one wife, he had a wedding with one wife, Theresa Kafela, and left the other women. He was baptised in 1935 with his small son Lucien. Azomoro was not baptised until the time of his death, by the catechists Pascal Fela, Charles Abadamloora and Andrew Anyinakori. Moses continued to meet with those at Abulu. However, many of those at Abulu left for Kumasi and the small church building fell down. Atongwo continued to be involved, but became annoyed when a man from another area was appointed catechist and leader.¹³⁴ Atongwo attended Sunday services, but ceased to have other active involvement. At the end of Atongwo's life, he became seriously sick. His house people consulted the *voro*, and remade the *jona* Atongwo had destroyed. Atongwo still refused to *kaane*, but told them to allow his younger son to *kaane*. It appears that at this time there was little Christian support for Atongwo and his younger son "did not have sense". Atongwo died in 1953 and his housepeople buried him. The centre of the Catholic work shifted to Chiana Asunia.

(3) Growth and conflict in Asunia

The two catechists Gabriel and Eusibio lived in Chiana Asunia and then Pascal Fela joined Eusibio. David Azokware, from Kayoro-woro, was among those taught by the catechists.¹³⁵ His mother died when he was small so his family sent him to live with his father's sister in Chiana at the time the Fathers and catechists began to come from Navrongo to teach God's word. When he heard their teaching, he decided to follow *We choga*. Azokware related why he thought *We choga* was truth:

Jesus came down on earth and he suffered because of us. We heard that teaching and we knew God really loved us. He sent his Son to the world. Our ancestors were doing hot things (*wo-lonno* [i.e. sin]). He is the one who saved us. That made me know it is true.

After Azokware learned for four years, the Fathers selected him to go to Navrongo for three months intensive teaching before being baptised in April 1936. In the same month, the Fathers dedicated a chapel at Chiana Asunia.¹³⁶ Josaphat Yera was also baptised with Azokware. Both men became catechists, and initially Azokware worked at Gwenia while Yera helped out in Asunia. Although the Fathers spent each Sunday at Chiana, the catechists had the major responsibility for teaching.¹³⁷

By February 1937, there were catechists at Asunia, Katiu, and at Chiana Gwenia.¹³⁸ Pascal Fela was particularly zealous in his work which led him into conflict with the Chiana chief, Ayagitam. The Fathers reported that a number of problems had arisen in the Chiana chief's life and he had been troubled by the "pagans" for some time.¹³⁹ These people wanted him to revert to the rites of the ancestors. Although the Fathers give no details of the problems, they imply he ceased to perform ancestral rites. The chief did assist twice at mass in 1935.¹⁴⁰ A number of elders in Chiana told me that in the beginning, Ayagitam began to follow *We choga*. When his wives delivered two children, he agreed to abandon the *firu* ritual performed for boys in the Alogonia *nagura* of Asunia. Therefore, instead of waiting to see his children until the *firu* performance, he saw both children after birth. Shortly after, however they both died. The chief re-established the *firu* practice for all his remaining children, restored his *jona* and attended church only on special occasions.

The way Christians and catechumens grouped themselves around the catechists and in particular Pascal Fela apparently troubled the chief. The catechists had twice visited a sick child, angering the child's father and he attacked them. When Fr. Lapointe inquired about the matter, the Chief spoke angrily about the catechists.¹⁴¹ Fr. Gagnon later visited the chief and pointed out that Pascal was not at fault for seeing the child, but many people detested him for his zeal in trying to convert people and particularly for the way he attempted to baptise those he had instructed who were

on the point of death.¹⁴² The chief was reconciled with the Father. Gagnon later described Fela as "L'apotre (sic) extraordinaire de Kyana"¹⁴³ because of the way he put Catholic teaching into Kasem songs and also because catechumens told Gagnon that even though they esteemed Gabriel and Eusibio, Pascal was able to explain teaching much more clearly than the Fathers did.

Of those in Chiana who were taught by the catechists, Charles Abadamloora first had contact with the Fathers when they came to his father's house. He decided to follow *Wε choga* after he learned there was *telaao* (heaven) and a *tesega* (hell) and if he followed *Wε choga*, he would go to *telaao*.¹⁴⁴ He was baptised in 1937 and became a catechist at Chiana. When Matthew Ayaga, also from Asunia, started to follow the Fathers, his father refused to allow him to be given food, but his mother took it to him at night and sent it through the opening on the roof of the *diga-yugu*.¹⁴⁵ Ayaga went to Kumasi as a small boy and it was there he understood *Wε choga*. He returned to the north and was baptised in 1941. Ayaga faced great difficulty from his house people especially when he refused to *kaane jona*. When his sons were born, he refused to perform the *firu* for them and they did not die. Ayaga trained as a catechist and the Fathers sent him to work at Gwenia because of these difficulties. The Chiana chief built a house for the catechists at Gwenia in 1942.¹⁴⁶ Matthew Ayaga's brother Kopedima faced similar difficulties in the family house. He left for the south to avoid the problems, but when he returned conflict rose again. The result was Kopedima left his father's house and went to live in his uncle's house at Kalivio. He remained there for many years and only returned after the elder causing the trouble died. While at Kalivio he influenced several relatives, including Lawrence Asuavere to follow *Wε choga* and attend the Asunia church with him.

(4) Katiu and the westward spread of the gospel

The first catechist installed at Katiu did not stay long and Basilide Gyanwo replaced him. The Katiu chief constructed a building for the catechists in 1937 and the Fathers reported many people attending catechism classes.¹⁴⁷ Gilbert Chirazemwo

who came from the same *nagura* as the rain guardian was one of the first to be baptised from Katiu-Saga.¹⁴⁸ Some in the area claimed that he first brought the Fathers to Katiu and Saga, who came and conversed in his house. After he began to follow *Wε choṇa*, he had a church wedding and later refused to take a second wife. When all the senior men in his house died, he became househead. He refused to *kaane jona* and said "I can't sow this millet when my millet has germinated. Why should I cut my millet away again? I have been following *Wε choṇa* for a long time, and now they are trying to get me to *kaane jona* again. I refuse." The elders then gave all the *jona* to other men. All those who collected the *jona* died before Chirazemwo. He died in 1990 and John Akekodaga assisted in his burial.

In 1939, Michael Sukazire and David Azokware were installed as catechists in Katiu. Benjamin Alagajei from Saga was baptised in 1939 and also became a catechist. He taught Joseph Agri, a boy from Katiu.¹⁴⁹ Agri's father objected to his desire to be taught *Wε choṇa* and at times he refused to allow Agri to eat, but his mother smuggled food to him. After a time his father allowed him to learn. Agri was baptised in 1941 and then trained for another three years to become a catechist at Katiu. He continued this work until his recent retirement. The first chapel was built in Katiu in 1942.¹⁵⁰

(5) The gospel message in an isolated context - Kayoro

The Fathers moved Azokware to Gwenia for a year to work with Matthew Ayaga. Then he and Benjamin Alagajei began the Catholic work in Kayoro (Figure 13). Towards the end of 1944, they chose a site at the north end of Kayoro-woro for the construction of a small church and catechists house. The houses were completed in early 1945.¹⁵¹ When the Kayoro Primary School was opened in 1954 Azokware taught the children there. In the early days a Father visited Kayoro every week. However, the numbers of Fathers based in Navrongo decreased and their visits became infrequent. This discouraged people in the church and some stopped coming. Around 1975 the buildings collapsed (Figure 14). Azokware claims this also contributed to



Figure 13. David Azokware and his wife at Kayoro-woro.

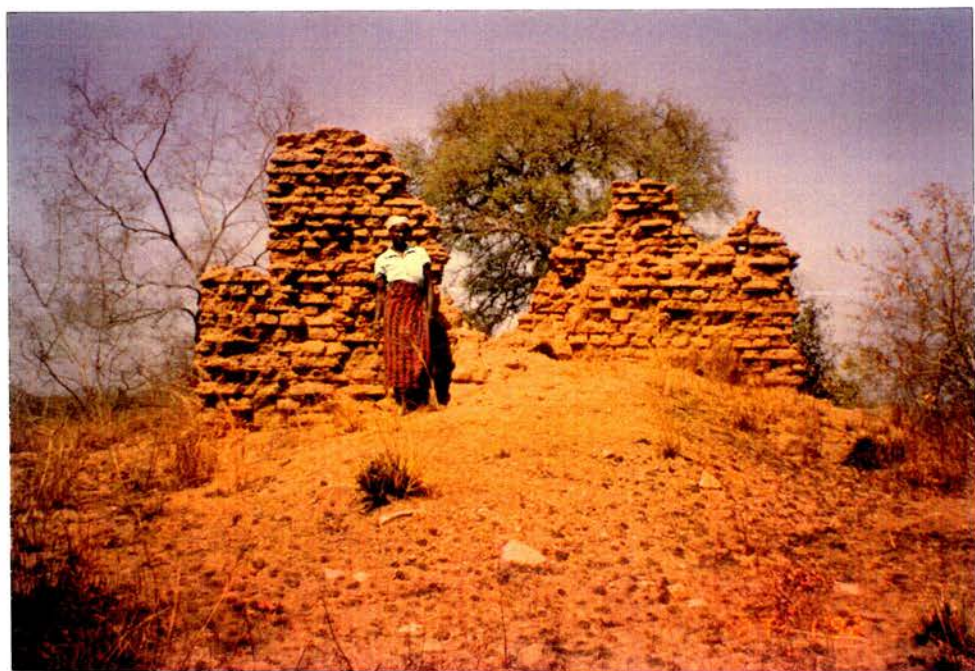


Figure 14. The remains of the Kayoro-woro Roman Catholic church.

people leaving the church and becoming Muslims or joining other groups. Azokware and other Christians continue to meet at his house or under a tree.¹⁵²

(6) Mass Education

The work in the Chiana area expanded in the 1950s. New church facilities were built in 1952.¹⁵³ The Fathers organised a retreat in Chiana and Katiu from 9 to 15 November 1952 to bring unity between the Christians in the area.¹⁵⁴ In 1954 more young men came for instruction in Chiana on Sundays.¹⁵⁵ This may have been the result of the mass education programme which ran from the 1940 to 1960.¹⁵⁶ Mass education caused difficulties in Chiana during 1953 when the Brother overseeing the programme threatened to stop it because those involved in it were accused of working against the Chief in a market palava.¹⁵⁷ Gabriel Ajongeyere who lives adjacent to Abulu, learned to read Kasem during that time.¹⁵⁸ He related how from childhood, he knew that God was his Father, but he only began to attend church when the Church of the Lord Mission (COLM) commenced because he heard that they "prayed". However, it was only after published portions of the Gospels and later the full New Testament became available in Kasem in the 1980s, that he read God's word for himself. He concluded that some activities of the COLM were not found in God's word, so he changed churches and joined the Catholic church at Gwenia. Some of the very first Christians from Abulu had returned from the south to retire at this time, so Gabriel built a shelter at Abulu so that once again they could meet there to pray.

4. Other religious movements

(1) *Sampwori* movements

From 1906 until the late 1950s, the only churches established in the Kasena area, were Roman Catholic churches. During that time the Fathers reported other movements associated with spiritual beliefs. In 1915, they reported on the activities of the "sampora" (Prophets)¹⁵⁹ who had power to discover what captured a person's

soul and made them seriously ill, or killed the person. The "sampora" also had power to release those who were caught. The Fathers describe how a spirit, a tree, death itself or another human being could catch a person's soul. If a person was accused of catching someone's soul, they would be seized, tied and beaten. The White Fathers accused the sampora of causing division in families, of murders and of suicides. They argued the sampora were hated and feared.

Again in 1954, the Fathers reported the appearance of "prophets" whom they describe as "a new pagan move (sic)", organized in Navrongo. However, it is identical to what they reported in 1915. Mostly young men went around the area discovering "the Soul-Eaters (Kyira)"¹⁶⁰ and telling people what to do. The Fathers stated: "It is an easy way to make money. As the belief in Soul-Eaters is a general one, they are received everywhere. They beat people and even make them die."¹⁶¹

(2) People "sent from *Wε*"

In October 1920 an old soldier suffering from leprosy, appeared at the Chief's house and said he was sent from God. He claimed to be able to speak all languages, make good and bad weather and prevent the millet from reaching full maturity if people did not receive him well. The Fathers wrote that he knew a little French and some words of other languages. "Il exploite la crédulité des indigènes pour se faire nourrir grassement et se faire porter de village en village. C'est comme quoi il faut très peu de chose pour mettre nos indigènes en émoi."¹⁶²

The White Fathers reported a movement called "La 'corne de bouc'" in November 1940. They claimed that a man from Tiébélé, in Burkina Faso (formerly Haute Volta), exploited people by promising them health and success, provided they procured a "corne de bouc" filled with remedies. They referred to him as a "sorcerer" who had his "catechists" in the main sections of Navrongo. A person would go to one of their compounds and give a gift. Then the person would go to the compound of "le grand chef de la nouvelle religion."¹⁶³ They point out that his followers were

forbidden to pronounce God's name at the "sorcerer's" home, were forbidden to listen to the catechists of the mission, had to go regularly to his home with a gift, and had to make new followers. His horn had miraculous power to give health and strength, give success in affairs, to prevent premature death, to prevent neighbours using the wife of the possessor of the horn, and to prevent snake bite and remove other harmful animals. The Fathers suggested their meetings were mostly "des agapes fraternelles où l'on se bourre de nourriture et où le sorcier trouve large part."¹⁶⁴ They claimed that hundreds of people went to Tiébélé, including a few Christians who had given in to the temptation to go.¹⁶⁵ However, old people were hostile to the horn and told their children to look to the catechism of the Fathers in preference to the horn, as the Fathers, did not deceive anyone and the horn seemed suspect. There was still evidence five months later of people going to Tiébélé for this horn.¹⁶⁶ In 1943, the Fathers refer to "La corne à Katin (sic)" (the horn of Katiu). A man called Atia launched the movement in Katiu which resulted in crowds of people going there. The movement had a centre and several branches with each branch having its "chief". From each centre, the "horn" distributed bottles of water which replaced the blessed water of the Christians.¹⁶⁷

In February 1953, the Fathers report on " Le 'Wε-bu'" (God's child) which appeared at Daboa in French territory close to Tumu.¹⁶⁸ They comment that, "une nouvelle superstition est entrain de prendre importance considerable." A certain man who remained in a room was said to descend directly from the sky. He gave permission for some cowries to be tied on peoples' arms using a rubber band. To gain the cowries, people first had to make a public confession and then sacrifice one or more fowls to the "Wε-bu". If the fowl did not land in a good position, it meant the confession was unacceptable. Crowds from Tumu, Chiana and Sandema went to Daboa including some Christians whom the Fathers asserted were letting themselves be carried away with the movement. The Fathers reported that people with leprosy were also going to the "Wε-bu". However, some were not satisfied and had returned to take their medicine again.¹⁶⁹ Therefore, the fathers implied that those who went had abandoned taking their medicine. This movement was not confined to the Kasena, for

Anselme Sanon writing on the Bobo of Burkina Faso, reports that in 1955, "le bruit court qu'un Voyant (wùrò zε-tà) arrive: puis on lui trouve un nom: c'est un Fils de Dieu (wuro-nô)." ¹⁷⁰

The Fathers mostly depict the motivation of the "initiators" in these movements as mercenary and deceptive. In the case of the "sampora" they were also destructive. However, all the movements focused on beliefs or problems Kasena faced. In both the case of the horn and the "Wε-bu", the objects resembled symbols used in the Roman Catholic church. The horn distributed bottles of water as a part of its ritual which replaced the water blessed for Christians. The very use of the term "Wε-bu" raises questions about how Kasena interpreted what the Fathers meant by "Wε bu" (God's son) for the Kasena say, "*voroye Wε-bu*" ("the diviner is God's child"). ¹⁷¹ Did some Kasena then presume rosary beads to be the "Wε bu" implement with power to accept confession and so replace them with the cowries on a rubber band? Do these movements provide evidence that Kasena felt the Christian message they had heard lacked adequate answers for the powers they struggled with in daily life?

5. The Kasena understanding of the Roman Catholic message

As illustrated earlier, the Fathers attempted to learn Kasem before commencing evangelisation. They also visited compounds when they entered each area. They encouraged catechists to do the same and some appear to have walked extensively through the dispersed compounds of their areas.

(1) Emphasis on education: interpreted as "*Wε chonga* is for children"

The mandate of the British administration forced the Fathers to concentrate on developing a schooling system. The use of force to gain the first pupils and the ages of those pupils gave the Kasena the impression that the gospel was about children learning things. Most of the very first pupils the Navrongo Chief sent to the school were about 20 years of age and they were rejected because they were considered too

old to attend school. They were replaced by younger children.¹⁷² Kazaresam illustrates one of the stories circulating that some Kasena divided their children into those who were for Christianity and those who continued with their traditional beliefs. He suggests that Kasena adults made the "missionary's religion [a] children's affair."¹⁷³ However, the emphasis on schooling and sending children to learn, meant that Kasena naturally thought that *We choga* was meant for children. During my interviews an elder told me that "[The Fathers] talked of '*We choga*' and asked people to send their children." A woman related to me how she had helped to carry water for the church building in her area. I asked her if she attended the church and she responded "At that time I didn't even know what it was. It was only school children who went there. I didn't go to school. It didn't reach people [adults]."

(2) Learning catechism and prayers: memories of the message

The Fathers placed great emphasis on learning the catechism. For many this consisted of rote learning¹⁷⁴ and the associated doctrine appeared to be of little relevance to the learner's life. Today there are older men who have no association with the church, but who can quote parts of prayers, the rosary or even some of the 10 commandments they learned when they attended a catechism class. An old *voro* told me he was sent to Navrongo as a child and described how he "greeted" Mary and Jesus every morning as he entered the church. He then quoted an extensive mixture of prayers. Apart from this he did not perceive there to be anything relevant to his life in what he learned, especially when he became ill. Instead it led to his becoming a *voro*. Another old man quoted "*We, de bu, de Sinlaao, Amina*" (God and son and Holy Spirit. Amen). He then added "We call God's name when we *kaane jona*."

In the Bobo situation, Sanon examined the catechism which the missionaries prepared and found that responses in the catechism ignored or silently by-passed the issue of communication between people and the invisible forces, whether it was through techniques of participation, mediation, or possession. He states "Le catéchisme n'a pas formé les chrétiens à lire les manifestations religieuses du milieu

environnant."¹⁷⁵ The catechism did not enable them to interpret movements such as "Wε-bu".¹⁷⁶ The Kasem catechism also has no questions nor provides direction as to how Kasena should relate to any of the traditional categories of the spirit realm apart from questions on who Wε is. The catechism introduces the term *malese* (angels) and the *malese* who refuse God's commandments are named "*sitana*". These *sitana* surround people and deceive them so that they sin (*se de ta ke wellera*).¹⁷⁷

The Kasena have other memories of the message that was presented to them. These include:

"They brought Jesus talk."

"The Father said he wanted to help people pray to God for there is much hunger here."

"Many people don't have sense. He said he would teach them to have sense."

"It is a force that we come to church."

"The Father said when someone dies, he dies, it's not fit to take a stone and call his name and do things on it. If you accept him [the Priest], he can bless you, so that you become a '*fari bu*' [Father's child] and when you die tomorrow, you will go to heaven."

The most frequently mentioned message Kasena heard was that God's word said they should abandon *jona kaanem*. They linked this with going to church. The result was that many Kasena men refused to allow their children to attend church because if you went "you could not *kaane jona*."¹⁷⁸ Therefore, they would send children who had no *jona* or *wε*. They feared that if they left the *jona* it would spoil the child. An elder explained to me that "what our father worked on, we grew up and saw that. We are to do the same thing. I have children and cattle. The children will be looking after the cattle. Why should I suffer and go to white man's house? If you are suffering for yourself, you suffer for yourself." Kasena heard two other messages: you do not perform funeral rites and you do not marry two wives.

(3) Preparation for baptism: the impact of the message on family life

The Fathers had a lengthy four year preparation for baptism. Kazaresam summarised the three conditions for baptism as: "knowledge of the catechism, complete rejection of the traditional religion, and acceptance of monogamous marriage."¹⁷⁹ The teaching of the Fathers that Christians were to reject all "fetish practices" meant that they abandoned anything to do with the ancestors or the dead, including the funeral performance (*lua fulim*). This not only tore at the heart of family unity, it undermined the authority of family heads and many of the sanctions related to social control in Kasena society. Awedoba also suggests that "Traditional Kasena-Nankana could not contemplate the consequences of their sons not building them shrines after death or making sacrifices to them."¹⁸⁰ He adds that the ancestral sacrifices and the associated ritual "suggested ancestral worship to the Catholic mind and an attempt at elevating the ancestors to the level of God."¹⁸¹ However, Kasena did not do this, for God was distinguished from all the other spiritual powers including the ancestors as Awedoba argues and as illustrated in Chapter three. Thus conflicts within families were the inevitable result of the rejection of ancestral practices. Between 1911 and 1921, the White Fathers record in their diaries at least 32 incidents of conflict, and most were within the context of the *sɔŋɔ* or marriage. In 1912 a man retained his daughter unless her husband, Jean, completed sacrifices; house people chased a young man out in 1916 because of his medal; and another man left his house in 1919 to escape his father's anger and opposition to his faith.¹⁸²

The Kasena called those who associated with the church, both in Navrongo and Chiana, "*fari bia*" (Father's children). Increasing numbers of Christians began to live in close proximity to the Mission in what the Fathers called the Christian village.¹⁸³ However, to the Kasena, it was "*fari sɔŋɔ*" (Father's house).¹⁸⁴ Therefore, Kasena seemed to associate the first Christians more with the Fathers than with God. Among those Christians who moved from Pungu to this area was Kazaresam, the grandfather of the present parish priest of Chiana. He was the first in his family to become a Christian and he was baptised around 1912.¹⁸⁵

The Fathers placed great emphasis on teaching about marriage. The Catholic teaching on monogamy meant that a man could not be baptised who already had a polygamous marriage unless he put away all but one wife; and if a Christian's wife left, remarriage was ruled out unless she died. Between 1911 and 1921, the White Fathers record about 54 entries in their diaries on the topic of marriage and they regarded Kasena marriage as extremely unstable and difficult. They sought for licensed powers of marriage under English law and in 1915, the Government gave the Roman Catholic Church a licence to perform marriages when the Marriage Ordinance was made applicable to the Navarro District.¹⁸⁶ The government were sceptical about the effect of this Ordinance on Christians. Rather than helping to consolidate Christianity as the Fathers hoped, the Provincial Commissioner predicted it would have the opposite effect and drive converts back to "Paganism". He stated that, "Once the Grunshi realizes that he is tied to one woman for life, and can have no more wives, he will begin to think that Christianity is not all that it was made out to be."¹⁸⁷ The Fathers wanted to establish the convent as part of the solution to the problem of the waywardness of Kasena women. Although the approval for the convent was given in 1913, the first four sisters only arrived in May 1928.¹⁸⁸ Prior to their arrival, women who were to marry young Christian men, would come and stay near the Mission to learn the catechism each day, before being allowed to marry.¹⁸⁹

The introduction of the Marriage Ordinance not only permitted the Fathers to perform Christians' marriages, but where a woman ran back to her father's house, she could be forced to return to her husband. When the wife of the catechist Gabriel Tiburu remained in her father's house for two years, even though Tiburu tried to make her return, the Fathers informed the District Commissioner of the problem. The DC returned the wife to Tiburu and imprisoned her father.¹⁹⁰

Kazaresam argues that these two areas of teaching almost destroyed the identity of Kasena society and he contends that this was the reason why so few adults accepted the Christian message.¹⁹¹ Fr. Awia is also critical of the attitude early missionaries took and their perception that many actions of Kasena were simply the

result of superstition, savagery or foolishness.¹⁹² The result was outright condemnation and obliteration of cultural values by the early missionaries rather than active comprehension and transformation.

This forthright criticism of the early missionaries needs to be understood in the context within which the White Fathers worked. The approach to mission reflected the belief which impregnated European society at the time, that evangelisation was inherently bound up with "civilisation", but according to the criteria set by European "civilisation". Missionaries, whether Catholic or Protestant, perceived there to be little of value within the lives and faiths of those they sought to reach. Life was categorised as being one of degradation, inertia and idleness. Missionaries believed that a *tabula rasa* approach was required to implant a Christian civilisation. In addition, the White Fathers sought to fulfil faithfully the mandate of Mission as set out by the Roman Catholic Church.

Catholic missionary doctrine centred around pontifical declarations, but it was the prominent Catholic theologian, Pierre Charles whose writings influenced the thinking of Catholic missionaries.¹⁹³ Charles argues that the purpose of mission was "la constitution de l'Eglise visible dans les pays où elle ne l'est pas encore."¹⁹⁴ He concludes that "la mission, étant fondée sur l'Eglise, et non immédiatement sur l'universalité de la rédemption ou l'unicité de Dieu ou sur n'importe quelle autre vérité, la seule mission véritable est la mission catholique et que le Pape en est le seul chef,...".¹⁹⁵ Therefore the emphasis of Catholic missiology was the universal relevance of the visible Catholic Church and not the gospel message. According to Kazaresam, the Catholic soteriology centred on the avoidance of sin as the means to a relationship with God and life after death.¹⁹⁶ To achieve this goal, missionaries sought to teach the catechism to as many people as possible for the catechism embodied the essential dogma and teaching for salvation. From Kazaresam's perspective, the emphasis on the school was not "so much a means of converting the children as a place of formation of catechists and seminarians."¹⁹⁷ The Fathers perceived these men to be crucial for fulfilling goal of establishing the visible Church. However, their role appeared to be

largely instructing children and adults in schools and classes to learn the catechism and prayers by heart. This rote learning emphasized the knowledge of certain salvific truths, but the message remained largely in the realm of extraneous knowledge with little perceived relevance to Kasena *soŋo* life and problems.

6. The evidence of rejection of Christianity

The administration reports in the 1930s of the Kasena response to the missionaries and their message tend to be contradictory. One report describes the Fathers as having established a stronghold in the lives of the people through a policy of making "allowance for the pagan's point of view."¹⁹⁸ However, in the following year, the DC indicated the moral and social condition of people remained practically unaltered. He found nothing offensive with any of their customs or their religion. "These may not be compatible with our own ideas of what customs and religion should be but they have the decency to stick to what they profess to believe and the same cannot be said of all members of our superior civilisation."¹⁹⁹

By 1941, there were 2528 Christians and 600 practising catechumens, but many were beginning to abandon attending church.²⁰⁰ Even though 1,000 Christians participated in mass in 1942, there were about 400 not coming. The Fathers commented "La chute d'un chef de case entraîne comme fatalement toute la partie chrétienne de la case."²⁰¹ There was another period in 1951, when the Fathers became discouraged with the lack of attendance by Navrongo Christians.²⁰² They also had struggles with those who moved to live around the Mission. They had not organized people to do this. In 1942, the Mission took away fields on Mission lands from Christians who had taken second wives or from "pagans" who had simply occupied land.²⁰³ Again by 1952, the Fathers were troubled by those coming and living at the Mission and some, including a family from Katiu were removed from the premises.²⁰⁴ Some of these people may have been attracted to the Mission not because their families opposed their faith, but because they were attracted to the help they perceived was available from the Mission. There were distributions of clothes at the end of

1959 and corn to the needy in 1960. These distributions attracted many people to the Mission compound in Navrongo and troubled those there.²⁰⁵

Awedoba pays tribute to the White Fathers' determination and devotion to persist and build an excellent educational system in spite of the serious difficulties they faced in the early years of their work.²⁰⁶ He regards this as the most significant contribution of the Catholic Mission to the North.²⁰⁷ However, Fr. Awia points out that nearly all children at early schools were boarders and they were therefore alienated from family and the learning which occurred through participation in *sogbo* life.²⁰⁸ Awia suggests that education was only a means of upward social mobility and it failed even to equip children to return to their communities and be of service to their families. Not only were traditional values lost, but children imbibed the worst values from Western civilisation.²⁰⁹

The Mission control of education meant that all those who went through it learned something about Christianity. In Awedoba's view, the effectiveness of this control should not be overestimated because of the small numbers who claimed to be Christians after 54 years of Catholic teaching.²¹⁰ Furthermore, he suggests that, "people shunt between Catholic and local traditional practices."²¹¹ He adds that

The use of the services of diviners is probably common among Christians but this, together with the material provision Christians may make towards traditional sacrifices and rituals, remains a sensitive issue which cannot be easily investigated even by participant observation although there are hints that practising Christians participate indirectly through their readiness to provide for the sacrifices and funeral obsequies in spite of the opposition of the church to these practices.²¹²

Kazaresam reinforces this and indicates that particularly at times of crisis, Christians would ask for Mass for this particular issue but simultaneously would consult "a fetish priest, a soothsayer or even a Muslim medicine-man."²¹³ Kazaresam observes that many school converts gave up practising the Christian faith because they felt they did not freely choose it, but had it imposed on them.²¹⁴ During one interview a man indicated to me that his father had refused to allow him to be baptised. The man then said this disadvantaged a person's education and chances of entry to the Roman

Catholic schools.

In spite of the claim that converts fluctuate between Catholic and traditional practices, and the evidence that some who began later rejected the Christian faith, there were many in the early years who were genuine in their desire to follow *Wε choŋa*. Some had to make harsh personal sacrifices, they distanced themselves from *kaanem* and their understanding of the message went beyond "do not *kaane jona*." The words of the old catechist at Kayoro, David Azokware, quoted earlier in this Chapter, illustrate how he understood the Good News of God's love expressed through the sacrificial death of Jesus for the sin of all people, and the salvation that He offers. He has sought to live in obedience to this and tried to faithfully communicate this in the way he was directed as a catechist.

An old christian in Katiu told me that as a boy he wanted to believe.

I sat and thought about our ancestors work. When they give birth and the child grows a little, they call the *voro* to sit by the gate and call you and say, 'come out and collect your *wε* [personal guardian].' I thought, in the ancestor's way they were following *Wε choŋa*, but they didn't know it truly so they passed through killing hens and goats.

He reasoned that if they built the child's *wε*, the child is to follow God, but should "leave the mud". He knew God had power and that the *jona* did not have power. He reasoned this because if a girl had her *wε* built, when she married, they would dig it out and throw it away and say the *wε* has followed her to her husband's house. Therefore, he knew God had truth and the *jona* did not. However, as a child he was afraid to go to church, so when he went to Kumasi in 1947, he knew he was "free" and he started following *Wε choŋa*. He was baptised in the south and stayed there until he retired from work in 1987, when he came back north. His house people still trouble him since his return, but when he is sick, he gives himself to God. At Chiana Gwenia, Moses Adayira taught his son Lucien God's word until Moses died in 1956. Lucien continued to follow *Wε choŋa* because he "realized it was the truth". The Fathers then asked him to become a catechist. After training he worked in the Gwenia area and built a church near his home in 1988 (Figure 15).



Figure 15. Lucien Adayira's family at the Roman Catholic Church at Gwenia

7. Conclusion

In the early days the Fathers extensively visited people in their houses. Several of them, particularly Fr. Gagnon, made a significant effort to learn about beliefs and cultural practices. They never attempted to deny the fact that the purpose of their mission was evangelisation. However, their emphasis on Mission as the replication of the visible Church, led to the gospel message being subsumed into the educational processes associated with "civilisation". This emphasis on education led to the Kasena perceiving that the gospel was associated with school, relevant for children and did not answer their questions nor help them know how to react to the spiritual powers they confronted in their daily life. Furthermore, Mission became institutionalized and as missionaries concentrated attention on the management of school, they lost their active interaction with people in their communities.

During the years that the Catholic Church operated alone in the Kasena area, their attention was mostly focused in Navrongo and on the educational facilities. Although parish priests visited the western section throughout the years, it was only

during 1991, approximately 64 years after the first catechists were based in Chiana, that Chiana became a separate parish with its own Priest and Parish Council. Construction of a new church began, as well as a residence for the parish priest. In Paga, the Fathers began teaching the catechism in the primary school when it opened in 1952. However, it was not until 1958 that an "out-station" was built at Paga. This occurred because the Muslims and Protestants were very active in the area and the writer in the Diaries admits "We are even a bit late for it."²¹⁵

Although by the end of the 1950s, numerically few Kasena declared themselves to be "Christian", the Fathers ministry is highly significant when seen as a stage in the story of the Kasena response to the Gospel. From the outset, the White Fathers placed great emphasis on the learning and use of the Kasem language. Their commitment to producing materials in Kasem and literacy laid the groundwork from which Christians who are now in the Protestant churches, reaped the benefit in their spiritual journey. Furthermore, some men and women who heard and struggled to follow "*Wε choga*", then endeavoured to impart what they knew of the Gospel message to their children. Robert Atongwo testified that his father had taught them "*Wε choga*" and he had personally never seen shame in following it. Atongwo taught Robert that "in God's path, at the beginning, you will suffer. If you don't suffer you don't see sweetness."²¹⁶ He encouraged his sons to pray. Robert explained how they had struggled with hunger, poverty and sickness, but when these problems struck them, they always prayed to God and God helped them. Robert continued to attend the RC church, until his brother became involved in the Church of the Lord Mission (COLM). Peter Banavatei was only small when his father died, but he knew he had followed God. However, Peter's desire to follow God, only came to fruition when the COLM commenced in Chiana. Peter concluded their manner of prayer was the same as the Catholic church and so he continued there. He and Robert now head the Abulu COLM and seek to teach God's word through the reading of the Kasem New Testament, but expressed regret that they had received little teaching themselves.

From a traditional perspective, Anemana died an ignoble death from leprosy.²¹⁷

His househead clearly identified Anemana's following *Wε choga* as the cause of his leprosy, implying that someone in the spiritual realm was angry with him for abandoning his father's ways.²¹⁸ This is ironic, because sometimes Kasena say of people with leprosy that "God makes such people, what can you do?" However, if people thought his leprosy resulted from seeing a *wo-dɔga*²¹⁹ and he failed to go to the *voro* and then build its *joni*, which some believe would have brought healing, then the househead's anger was understandable. Anemana was also relatively young when he died and he had no sons to *kaane* for him which meant there was little place for him in the ancestral realm. He was survived by two daughters whom I discovered to be both living in Chiana.²²⁰ I asked them to tell me what they knew about their father. They confirmed some details related to his schooling, baptism, sickness and desire to follow God. Neither of them had forgotten their father's belief. After his death, Rita was taken out of school in Navrongo, but she continued to attend the Catholic church in Chiana. She returned to Chiana after the death of her own husband in Paga, but was troubled by sickness. She experienced healing, through Madame Kawuru, who came to Chiana in 1977 and began to attend the COLM.

Rita and Theresa had known nothing of their father's story recorded by Fr. Gagnon. I then related to them what Fr. Gagnon wrote. They were both overwhelmed to learn the story of his belief and the fact that someone would remember a person who died young and from sickness. It was then that Theresa Yawiiu related how she had not followed *Wε choga*, but as an adult had left for the south and some years later she lost her sight. As a result she turned to God. The restoration of her sight through an operation at the Presbyterian Hospital at Agogo, confirmed for her God's power and care for her as a woman with no child to care for her. She knew God really worked. When she returned to the north, she joined the Good News Church (GN) at Katiu-Saga, as she wanted to continue to follow *Wε choga* and learn His word. Rita also now attends there. Ten days after I interviewed them, Theresa arrived at my house with a gift of eggs. She expressed deep gratitude for the information they had discovered about their father and explained how it had confirmed her faith in God.

NOTES

1. The Society of Missionaries of Africa.
2. Der, "Church-State Relations in Northern Ghana," p.41.
3. NAG-A. ADM 56/1/33. Supérieur des Pères Blancs, G.A. Templier to le Commandent, Gambaga, 17-5-1905.
4. NAG-A. ADM 56/1/33. Ag. Col. Sec to Ag. CCNT, 4-7-1905.
5. NAG-A. ADM 56/1/33. CCNT Watherston to Fr. Superior, 3-2-1906.
6. WFD:23-4-1906.
7. WFD:25-4-1906.
8. WFD:2-5-1906. Lt.Col. Watherston stated this as the government's concern when he visited Navrongo shortly after the White Fathers arrived.
9. WFD:8-5-1906. The Fathers actually indicated that "Youlsi" (Kasem) was the true language of the country, and they found Navrongo bordered four language groups: "Nankasa" 10-12 km north east; "Dagomba or Mamfrusi" 15 km to the south; "Boura" 15 km to the west and Youlsi to the north and west. Nankane is a Moore-Dagbane language closely related to Gurenne (Frafra) (Awedoba, Aspects of Wealth and Exchange, p.11).
10. WFD:24-6-1906, 1-7-1906 and NAG-A. ADM 56/1/33. Col. Sec., to Ag. CCNT, 29-10-1906.
11. WFD:15-8-1906 and 1-9-1906.
12. WFD:1-1-1907.
13. WFD:10-3-1907 and 16-4-1907. They estimated the population to be 10,350 with an average of 10.35 per compound.
14. WFD:3-7-1907.
15. NAG-A. ADM 56/1/5. CCNT Watherston to Col. Sec., 5-7-1907.
16. Awedoba, Aspects of Wealth and Exchange, p.82.
17. NAG-A. ADM 56/1/5. CCNT to M. Brun, Le Pere Superieure (sic), Wagadugu, 10-7-1907.
18. NAG-A. ADM 56/1/33. Col. Sec. to CCNT, 27-8-1907.

19. NAG-A. ADM 56/1/33. Fr. Morin to Watherston, 19-10-1907.
20. Der, "Church-State relations in Northern Ghana," p.43.
21. Watherston, "The Northern Territories of the Gold Coast," pp.360,361.
22. NAG-A. ADM 56/1/33. Watherston to Commissioner, Navarro, 20-9-1907.
23. WFD:2-10-1907.
24. NAG-A. ADM 56/1/2. Watherston to Lt.B.Taylor, 28-10-1907.
25. WFD:13-12-1907.
26. WFD:13-12-1907.
27. Pfann, *A Short History of the Catholic Church in Ghana*, p.60.
28. WFD:16-12-1907.
29. NAG-A. ADM 56/1/9. Report on the Navarro School, Capt. Wheeler DC Navarro to CCNT, 2-11-1909.
30. WFD:23-2-1908.
31. NAG-A. ADM 56/1/145. Handing Over Reports on N.E.Province and Out Districts. G. Fleury, D.C. Navarro to Capt S. Nash, 6-7-1908.
32. WFD:6-12-1908.
33. Pers. com., David Azokware, Retired catechist, Kayoro-woro, 24-4-1992. In his opinion, they were "caught with force and sent to the Father's house to learn." Those who went to school after them were not.
34. WFD:18-1-1909. The "Tjana" chief returned their greetings by coming to Navrongo and visiting the Fathers. Three years later, Azosere sent one of his nephews to the school in Navrongo. (WFD:13-2-1909)
35. WFD:10-5-1908.
36. WFD:6-6-1908.
37. NAG-A. ADM 56/1/4. *NT Annual Report*, 1908.
38. On May 4 1909, 4 catechumens were examined: Sayire, Batte, Akole and Fariba (WFD:9-5-1909). There were comments in the Diaries on 1-8-1909, 21-11-1909 and 6-2-1910 related to the catechisms and then the dedication of the chapel.
39. WFD:1-5-1910 and 4-9-1910.

40. Sanon, Tierce Église, p.197.
41. *Ibid*, p.199.
42. NAG-A. ADM 56/1/9. Fr. Morin to Major Irvine, CCNT, Tamale, 7-8-1910.
43. NAG-A. ADM 56/1/9. Fr. Morin to Major Irvine, CCNT, Tamale, 7-8-1910.
44. ADM 56/1/9. Ag. CCNT to Col. Sec., 28-8-1910.
45. WFD:5-11-1910. Later they noted that many more would come if they had clothes (WFD:11-11-1910).
46. WFD:24-12-1910 and 26-12-1935 and Awia, *Navrongo and Its Pioneers*, p.7.
47. NAG-A. ADM 56/1/443. *Annual Report 1910 North Eastern Province Northern Territories*, p.80.
48. WFD:6-2-1911.
49. WFD:13-6-1911 and NAG-A. ADM 56/1/11. Report on a Tour of inspection of the North Eastern Province of the Northern Territories June 8th to July 5th 1911, CCNT to Col. Sec., 15-7-1911.
50. NAG-A. ADM 56/1/463. Northern Territories Northern Eastern Province Annual Report, 1911.
51. NAG-A. ADM 56/1/33. Fr. Morin, Report on Roman Catholic Mission School, Navarro, 1911. 16-2-1912.
52. NAG-A. ADM 56/1/109. Census for 1911. The census return enumerated 79,417 "Grunshis" of whom 232 were "Mohammedans" and 79,092 Pagans. At the beginning of 1912 the Fathers reported there were 5 Fathers, 25 Christians, 55 Catechumens in 4th year and 80 in 3rd and about 200 postulants (WFD:1-1-1912).
53. WFD:8-1-1912.
54. NAG-A. ADM 56/1/33. Provincial Commissioner (Prov.Com.) to CCNT, 25-3-1912.
55. NAG-A. ADM 56/1/33. CCNT to Prov. Com., NE Province, 22-6-1912 and CCNT to Ag. Com. NE Prov, Navarro, 19-9-1912. The leasing of land in this manner completely ignored the traditional land guardians.
56. WFD:21-12-1912.
57. NAG-A. ADM 56/1/33. Prov. Com. Warden to CCNT, 29-8-1911
58. NAG-A. ADM 56/1/12. CCNT to Ag. Col. Sec., 18-10-1912.

59. WFD:29-12-1912. The DC described the White Fathers as a "purely catholicising body" only giving elementary secular instruction. (NAG-A. ADM 56/1/467. Annual Report N.E. Province for 1912.)
60. NAG-A. ADM 56/1/12. Prov. Com. to Ag. CCNT, 3-9-1913.
61. NAG-A. ADM 56/1/471. Annual Report on the North-Eastern Province of the Northern Territories for 1913.
62. NAG-A. ADM 56/1/12, Ag. CCNT to Ag. Col. Sec., 6-10-1913.
63. NAG-A. ADM 56/1/471. Annual Report on the North-Eastern Province of the Northern Territories for the Year 1914.
64. NAG-A. ADM 56/1/463. Annual Report on Navarro-Zauragu Districts for the Year 1917.
65. NAG-A. ADM 56/1/463. This was reported in both the 1918 and 1919 Annual Reports on Navarro-Zauragu Districts.
66. NAG-A. ADM 56/1/270. Informal Diary Navarro-Zauragu District 17/1/22-10/2/23.
67. NAG-A. ADM 56/1/493. Annual Report on North Mamprussi District for the Year 1922-23, p.6.
68. NAG-A. ADM 56/1/493. Northern Province - Northern Territories Annual Report 1923-24, p.21.
69. *Ibid.*
70. WFD:12-9-1924.
71. WFD:29-12-1912.
72. NAG-A. ADM 56/1/298. Fr.O.Morin to CCNT Maj. Walker-Leigh, 19-9-1924, p.2.
73. *Ibid*, pp.3-6.
74. *Ibid*, p.6. The CCNT communicated this to Fr. Morin, on 23-1-1924.
75. Der, "Church-State relations in Northern Ghana," p.44.
76. R. Bening, *A History of Education in Northern Ghana, 1907-1976*, Accra, Ghana University Press, 1990, p.29.
77. On 20-11-1912 E.H. Freshfield appealed to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, for a Convent. He enclosed a translated letter of 28-9-12 from E. Le Maitre to Freshfield who appealed to him to act as an intermediary. Le Maitre stated the reason

the Government of the Gold Coast would not permit European ladies to stay in the North was "lack of creature comforts." He appealed for reconsideration and stated: "Amongst the Gourounsi tribes woman enjoys an independence which is almost unique in Africa, so far, indeed, that out of 20,000 inhabitants of Navaro two or three men at the outside have been successful in keeping their first wife, which is not astonishing seeing that the dowry paid by the husband is the only means the latter can employ to retain his wife in the path of conjugal fidelity, and that such dowry, not exceeding as it does 20 to 25 francs, can easily be defrayed by the first man that comes along." He argued the Nuns were necessary for the work of civilisation. (NAG-A. ADM 56/1/33. Incorporated in letter from L.Harcourt, Downing St, to Governor of Gold Coast, 10-1-1912)

78. NAG-A. ADM 56/1/298. CCNT to Comm. N.P. 23-2-1925

79. NAG-A. ADM 56/1/33. Col. Sec. to CCNT, 21-11-1925, and NAG-A. ADM 56/1/512. Northern Province Annual Report for the Year Ending 31st March, 1926, p.8.

80. WFD:12-3-26.

81. The Principal of Achimota visited Navrongo and "...he considered this school to be doing the most practical good work he has seen anywhere in this country." (NAG-A. ADM 56/1/512. Northern Province, Northern Territories Annual Report. 1927-28., p.7.) Of the 160 girls at school in the Protectorate by 1938, most were at the Mission School at Navrongo. (NAG-A. ADM 5/1/70. *NT Annual Report*, 1937-38, pp.59,61.)

82. NAG-T. NRG 8/3/83. Annual Report Navrongo, 1938-39, p.29.

83. WFD:1-11-1953.

84. NAG-A. ADM 56/1/464. *NT Annual Report*, 1912, p.33.

85. NAG-T. RAT/8/29, Correspondence from 1942-1948. Article written on Father O. Morin and the History of Mission (c. 1944, 1945), p.7.

86. WFD:1-6-1913.

87. WFD:10-6-1913.

88. NAG-A. ADM 56/1/471. Annual Report on the North-Eastern Province of the Northern Territories for 1913.

89. *Ibid*.

90. WFD:13-3-1914.

91. NAG-A. ADM 56/1/471. Annual Report on the North-Eastern Province of the Northern Territories for the Year 1914.

92. WFD:25-3-1915 and 21-6-1915.
93. NAG-A. ADM 56/1/463. Annual Report on Navarro-Zauragu Districts for the Year 1915.
94. NAG-A. ADM 56/1/486. Annual Report on the North Eastern Province of the Northern Territories for the Year 1916, p.7.
95. NAG-A. ADM 56/1/241. Census Report, 1921, p.7. However, the Annual Report for the Northern Province, stated there were now 300 Roman Catholics, 650 attending regularly and about 1000 people frequenting the Mission. (NAG-A. ADM 56/1/493. Report for the Northern Province of the Northern Territories for the Year 1921, p.5,9.) The figures for 1923 are listed as 422 Christians and about 500 others attending the service at Navrongo. (NAG-A. ADM 56/1/493. Annual Report on North Mamprussi District for the Year 1922-23, p.8.)
96. NAG-A. ADM 56/1/298. Fr. O.Morin to CCNT, 19-9-1924, p.6
97. NAG-A. ADM 56/1/512. Annual Report for North Mamprusi District For the Year 1925-1926, p.4.
98. Kazaresam, The Kasena of Ghana, p.68.
99. Raphael, Eugene, Ludger and Etienne. (WFD:14-10-1923.)
100. NAG-A. ADM 56/1/511. Northern Province - Northern Territories Annual Report 1924-1925, p.14.
101. 24 adults, 1 child baptised. 59 confirmed; 14 chaplets and 77 medals. WFD:17-4-1927.
102. Letter from P. Melancon, Juillet 1927, in Gagnon, Les Puissance Occultes, p.94.
103. Kazaresam, The Kasena of Ghana, p.72. Catechists came to the Mission on the first Friday of each month for a day of teaching and "recollection".(WFD:1-9-1933).
104. NAG-T. NRG 6/3/1. Annual Report Navrongo Area 1934/35, p.49.
105. WFD:18-12-1935.
106. NAG-T. NRG 8/3/83. Annual Report Navrongo, 1938-39, p.29.
107. *Ibid.*
108. WFD:23-2-31.
109. WFD:March 1942 and 7-1-1944.
110. Awia, Navrongo and Its Pioneers, p.28.

111. Kazaresam, The Kasena of Ghana, p.72.
112. WFD:15-9-1946.
113. WFD:May 1950.
114. Awia, Navrongo and its Pioneers, pp.36-38. These included: Mgr P.Averyire - 1955, Frs. J.Apuri-1960, J.Awia-1961, A.Kazaresam-1965, C.Akabote-1965, L.Abadamloora-1968, A.Abasi-1979, J.Tachuah-1971, E.Wedjong-1985, J.Atadana-1988, A.Ayaga-1988, B.Apuri-1988.
115. Kazaresam, The Kasena of Ghana, p.75.
116. The baptismal data on Henry Anemana indicated he was 17 years of age in 1912 when he was baptised. See Appendix five.
117. NAG-A. ADM 56/1/12. Prov. Com. Navarro to CCNT, 4-10-1912. Adedura, was the nephew of Azosere, the Chief of "Tiana" (WFD:12-6-1913). Anemana came from Wurunia and Adjega came from Katiu-Adabania.
118. WFD:24-11-13 and 12-1-1914.
119. WFD:29-12-1915.
120. WFD:13-1-1920.
121. Most of the remaining details came from personal communication with C.Abadamloora, 13-4-1992, Abatani, 14-4-1992, and D. Azokware, 24-4-1992.
122. Gagnon, Henry Le Lepreux (1940), in *Mentalité Païenne*, p.81.
123. All the French in the entire article is typed without accents marked in.
124. Gagnon, Henry Le Lepreux (1940), in *Mentalité Païenne*, p.81.
125. *Ibid*.
126. *Ibid*, p.82.
127. *Ibid*, p.82.
128. Anemana died between 1937 and 1939. D.Azokware indicated Anemana died while he was a catechist at Gwenia and Azokware was shifted from Gwenia to Katiu after March 1939 (Pers. com., 24-2-1992). Robert Abuga was present with Fr. Gagnon on the day Gagnon gave the last sacrament to Anemana and he confirmed Anemana died of leprosy (Pers. com., 14-4-1992).
129. WFD:1-12-1926.

130. WFD:26-6-1927.
131. Robert Atongwo and Peter Banavatei Atongwo, Abulu, 16-3-1992.
132. WFD:21-2-1935.
133. Pers. com., L.Adayira, Gwenia, 20-2-1992, Lucien Adayira is Azomoro's grandson. He told me this was the story his father had told him.
134. Pers. com., Robert Atongwo and Peter Banavatei, Abulu, 26-3-1992.
135. Pers. com., D.Azokware, Kayoro-Woro, 27-1-1992.
136. WFD:14-4-1936.
137. WFD:24-5-1936.
138. WFD:February 1937.
139. WFD:14-10-1937.
140. WFD:28-8-1935 and 25-12-1935.
141. WFD:14-10-1937.
142. The Fathers wrote that in 5 years Pascal baptised 57 people who were close to death. (WFD:14-10-1937)
143. Gagnon, "Pascal Fella, L'Apotre Extraordinaire de Kyana," 1938, in *Mentalité Païenne*, pp.74-75.
144. Pers. com., C.Abadamloora, Asunia, 13-4-1992.
145. Pers. com., Fr. A.Ayaga, Bolgatanga, 27-4-1992.
146. WFD:December 1942.
147. WFD:27-2-1937. The chief also held a celebration when the catechists were installed in Katiu (WFD:19-4-1937).
148. Pers. com. J.Akekodaga, Saga, 13-12-1991 and the retired catechist, J. Agri, Katiu, 24-12-1991 related all the information on Chirazemwo to me.
149. Pers. com., Joseph Agri, Katiu, 9-12-1992.
150. WFD:December, 1942. More building work was undertaken in the late 1940s, but the chapel was replaced by a larger building nearer the Katiu schools in 1962. (WFD:17,22-11-1949, 29-3-1950, 30-4-1962 and 2-5-1962.)

151. WFD:4.5-9-1944, 20-12-1944 and 25-1-1945.
152. Pers. com., D.Azokware, Kayoro, 31-1-1992.
153. WFD:25-4-1952 and 25-5-1952.
154. WFD:9-11-1952. These retreats were organised in Navrongo as well. Among the activities, christians recited the whole rosary each day, the Fathers reported the people really enjoyed it. (WFD:16-11-1952.)
155. WFD:20-10-1954.
156. One of the Fathers took a Kasena team to Tamale for training in 1951 (WFD:11-11-1951 and 30-11-1951).
157. WFD:1-12-1953. The Chiana catechists also faced problems during the 1956 elections. They were beaten at the Chiana school where they were to teach catechism to School children as they were suspected of working for one of the parties. (WFD:6-10-1956, 10-10-1956 and 12-10-56)
158. Pers. com., Gabriel Ajonyere, Kanania, 16-3-1992.
159. WFD:16-5-1915.
160. WFD:20-8-1954.
161. WFD:30-9-1954.
162. WFD:6-10-1920.
163. WFD:Novembre, 1940.
164. *Ibid.*
165. The White Fathers list them as: 3 from Kolo, 2 from Korania, 1 from Goghonia, 2 from Punga, 1 from Kyana-Gwenia. These were the feeble ones in the faith who had succumbed.
166. WFD:April 1941.
167. WFD:May, 1943. John Akekodaga at Saga confirmed this story. Tia came from the Saga *nagura* of Bagnania. His real name was Ayizaamo. He brought the *kwara* from Navoro-pungu. When he died the movement finished.
168. WFD:20-2-1953.
169. WFD:25-2-1953.
170. Sanon, Tierce Église, p.109.

171. I first heard this statement in March 1983 when a *nakwe tu* told me about *vora*.
172. NAG-A. ADM 56/1/298. Fr. O.Morin to CCNT Maj. Walker-Leigh, 19-9-1924.
173. Kazaresam, *The Kasena of Ghana*, pp.81,82.
174. Kazaresam points out that the catechism was learned by heart and this method of teaching may also have contributed to people perceiving Christianity as only relevant for children. (*Ibid*, p.82.)
175. Sanon, *Tierce Église*, p.110.
176. *Ibid*, p.109.
177. *We Kyoga Tono Warem Tono*, pp.14,15.
178. Men also refused to send their children because in those days the children did not roam about as they do now. Young boys were also required for shepherding. Men who were rich did not like their sons to go far away from them.
179. Kazaresam, *The Kasena of Ghana*, p.82.
180. Awedoba, *Aspects of Wealth and Exchange*, p.89.
181. *Ibid*.
182. WFD:7-9-1912, 6-1-1916 and 14-1-1919.
183. Pierre Sayiri began to live in his new hut near the mission in 1919 (WFD:6-3-1919.) and Cyril of Pungu moved to the mission because of parental opposition to his marriage preparation (WFD:26-3-1919). Anthime Akanlu, a Christian from Vonania also moved into the camp of the Christians in 1920 because he was no longer able to live in his uncle's compound. (WFD:18-11-1920)
184. Awedoba, *Aspects of Wealth and Exchange*, p.88.
185. Pers. com., Fr. A. Kazaresam, Navrongo, 1-5-1992.
186. NAG-A. ADM 56/1/33. Ag. Col. Sec. to CCNT, 27-11-1915.
187. NAG-A. ADM 56/1/486. Annual Report on the North Eastern Province of the Northern Territories for the Year 1916,p.7.
188. NAG-A. ADM 56/1/33. Col. Sec., to CCNT, 12-3-1913, NAG-A. ADM 56/1/512. Northern Province, Northern Territories Annual Report. 1927-28., p.13, and WFD:11-5-1928.
189. WFD:4-7-1919 and Fr. Morin also began a special catechism class for women around the mission. (WFD:25-6-25)

190. WFD:30-4-1921 and 2-5-1921.
191. Kazaresam, *The Kasena of Ghana*, p.83.
192. Awia, *Navrongo and its Pioneers*, p.22.
193. A. Rétif, "Evolution of the Catholic Idea of Mission," in *History's Lessons for Tomorrow's Mission: Milestones in Missionary Thinking*, Geneva: W.S.C.F, n.d., pp. 262-271.
194. P.Charles, *Études Missiologiques*, Desclée De Brouwer, Museum Lessianum - Section Missiologique, No.33, p.27.
195. *Ibid*, p.28.
196. Kazaresam, *The Kasena of Ghana*, p.78.
197. *Ibid*, p.80.
198. NAG-A. ADM 5/1/70. *NT Annual Report*, 1937-38, p.88.
199. NAG-T. NRG 8/3/83. *Annual Report Navrongo*, 1938-39, p.27.
200. NAG-T. NRG 8/3/111. *Annual Report on Navrongo District for the Year 1940-1941*, p.7.
201. WFD:April 1942.
202. WFD:30-5-1951.
203. WFD:3-7-1942.
204. WFD:26-5-1952.
205. WFD:November, December 1959 and 1960.
206. Awedoba, *Aspects of Wealth and Exchange*, p.84.
207. *Ibid.*, p.86.
208. Awia, *Threefold Encounter in Northern Ghana*, p.21.
209. *Ibid*, pp.21,23.
210. *1960 Population Census of Ghana*, Special Report 'E', *Tribes in Ghana*, 1964. Only 5.2 per cent of the "Grusi" (Mo, Sisala, Kasena, Vagala, Tampolense) population in rural areas claimed to be affiliated with Christianity, 8.4 per cent were Muslim and 78.8 per cent remained affiliated with the traditional religion. Of the Christians 4.2 per cent were Roman Catholics, 0.3 per cent Methodist and 0.1 per

cent Presbyterian. The report suggested "a person who states that he professes the traditional faith may merely believe in witches, spirits or fetishes and may never have worshipped at a shrine in his life." (p.lxxx) It also stated: "The interaction between the immigrant and the native religions has led to mutual influences with the result that both systems have lost a part of their exclusiveness, replacing it by some kind of syncretism. It is not unusual to find several customary habits, which originated from fetish practices and beliefs, co-existing side by side with Christians practices thus, some people may not see any conflict in attending their local church on Sunday and going to consult the local fetish priest the following day. This does not imply that the two systems approve of each others doctrines or practices, but that the followers ignore this disapproval." (p. lxxxii)

211. Awedoba, Aspects of Wealth and Exchange, p.90.

212. *Ibid*, p.91.

213. Kazaresam, The Kasena of Ghana, p.57. Margaret Archer suggests that this occurs where people simply register new information as alternatives which they can utilise (Archer, *Culture and Agency*, pp.218,219).

214. Kazaresam, The Kasena of Ghana, p.91.

215. WFD:20-3-1958.

216. Pers. com., Robert Atongwo, Abulu, 26-3-1992.

217. A person with leprosy is not held while they are dying because of fear of contagion and they are not buried in the normal manner.

218. Gagnon, *Mentalité Païenne*, p.82.

219. An unusual event such as chameleons mating. A Christian woman with leprosy at Kayoro told me her leprosy had resulted from seeing chameleons mating, they "followed" her and inflicted her with sickness to draw her attention to their desire that she build them a shrine and *kaane* on it. Her brother learned this through the *voro*, her house people obeyed and built the shrine and sacrificed. She ended up throwing the shrines out because after endless sacrifice she was not healed, but became worse. She became a Christian and her pain lessened and her health improved. (Pers. com., Alwenawora, Kayoro, 24-1-1992 and 24-4-1992)

220. Pers. com., Rita and Theresa Anemana, Wurunia, 15-4-1992.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE CONVERSION EXPERIENCE FROM THE 1950s TO 1992

Between the 1950s and 1992, three phases are identifiable in the Kasena religious itinerary. Each phase is associated with the establishment of new church groups. Only three groups, the Presbyterian Church of Ghana (PCG), Assemblies of God (AOG) and SIM Ghana (formerly Sudan Interior Mission) specifically sent missionaries into northern Ghana to start churches. All other churches which began in the Kasena area in that period, commenced not because of institutional aims to do so, but because of a complex combination of factors which included: cyclical migration of Kasena and other Ghanaians, the influence of family and friends, and reactions to personal crises. These same factors have also played a greater role in the growth of the mission-related churches than the work of missionaries. Furthermore, in all the churches, Kasena expressed a wide range of reasons as to why they wanted to follow *Wε choga*. This chapter initially explores the main reasons for primary Kasena conversion. Individual conversion stories are then used to illustrate these reasons, but these are presented in the context of church histories within three phases of church entry to the Kasena area.

1. The factors associated with primary conversion

(1) Attempts to prevent Christian alternatives

Prior to the 1950s, only the Roman Catholic (RC) church existed among the Kasena. However, movement of Kasena to the south of Ghana exposed them to other church groups. This was evident as early as 1915 when the Navrongo chief discovered the whereabouts of his son, Poabadye, who had been held captive in Cape Coast for about 15 years before he was brought back to Navrongo.¹ After the White Fathers met "John Poabadye" they commented that, "Il semble bien gentile; il est Wesléen depuis 3 ans, mais nous tâcherons, avec la grâce de Dieu, de le gagner à la

vraie religion."² The Fathers desired not only to win Poabadye to the "true religion", but to prevent Protestant missionaries from beginning work in areas they occupied or wished to enter in the Northern Territories. Hence their request in 1912 to establish catechists in Nankani and Bulsa villages around Navrongo.³

Although the Governor informed the White Fathers that no mission would have a zone of influence to the exclusion of other missions,⁴ Chief Commissioner C.H.Armitage opposed the work of the Wesleyans and refused to allow them any further north than Tamale thus indirectly creating zones of mission activity.⁵ The Fathers interpreted the approval to open a new station in Frafra in 1925 as an indication that the government did intend to divide the Northern Territories into zones for different religious groups.⁶ They concluded "Il nous faudra donc occuper les populations les plus intéressantes si nous ne voulons pas les voir tomber entre les mains des Protestants."⁷ However, the Fathers failed to realise the influence that problems Kasena faced and their patterns of migration would have on how Kasena responded to the gospel of Jesus Christ and how they communicated this to others. These influences on Kasena conversion became apparent in the PH interviews.

(2) Kasena reasons for following *Wε choga*

The Kasena conversion stories are drawn from 185 Personal History (PH) interviews I conducted and referred to in Chapter four. Interviews were conducted in Kasem, except for 23 in English and 7 in both languages. I have noted where necessary, when people used English terminology to describe their conversion experience. Although the interviews were not conducted randomly, this does not detract from the genuineness of the information. The answers provide us with important clues about what triggered off the conversion process and the subsequent itinerary. They also provide evidence of trends in Kasena belief. To search out the reasons for people wanting to follow *Wε choga*, I asked each person "What happened so that you thought you wanted to follow *Wε choga*?"⁸ From the answers the individual initial or main reason for a person wanting to follow *Wε choga* are listed

in Table four. Most people indicated a combination of factors occurred which resulted in their decision. For many people, dual causes interplayed almost simultaneously: they indicate that God helped them with a problem and they heard a message.

Table 4. Major (initial) reason for following *Wε choŋa*

#	%	Reason
73	40.3	Crisis/needs met: 3 healed from mental illness; 48 healed from sickness; barrenness, pregnancy, death; widow; protection from danger; provision of daily life needs
31	16.0	God created, or God's way better, God good, God's power
17	9.4	Repentance or believing in Jesus because of his death and resurrection . Two quoted Bible verses (Jn 1:12, Jn 3:16)
17	9.4	Family - either they were born, baptised into a christian family or taught as a child.
12	6.6	Taught it at school or sent to learn sense
8	4.4	Expressed - <i>jona</i> , <i>kaanem</i> or <i>voro</i> "have no meaning"
5	2.7	Christianity and tradition all the same - still sacrifice
3	1.7	Follow God or give self
3	1.7	Were attracted to the way of life or the person of Jesus Christ
3	1.7	Specifically because of the after life
2	1.1	Something missing or did not like self
9	5.0	Miscellaneous: made happy, music, reason not specific
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181	100	

Forty percent decided to follow *Wε choŋa* because God met a physical need. Two-thirds of these people experienced healing from sickness. The remainder mentioned how God's help with problems of barrenness, pregnancy, death of family members, physical danger, and provision of daily needs influenced their conversion. Widows and other women who felt they had no access to the spiritual realm because of being unable to *kaane jona* are reflected in these responses. Only one person out of the 40 percent in this category was in the RC church. This may not reflect a true picture of all RC members as most Catholics interviewed were from the western Kasena-Nankana zone and only a few Catholics in Navrongo were interviewed.⁹ It illustrates an area for further research.

Most people who stated that God met a physical need, went on to explain how

they were also convinced to follow God because of his power, goodness, providence or creativity. Fifteen people added that God answered their prayers. In all more than 100 people referred to God's creativity or that his way was better, as an additional reason for conversion. Only 9 percent of the respondents mentioned repentance from sin, or belief in Christ because of his death and resurrection as their main reason for following *Wε choŋa*. However, 50 (27%) other people referred to Christ's salvific role or repentance in later discussion during their interviews. A total of 28 people discussed how it was no longer meaningful for them to *kaane jona* or go to the *voro* after either having a healing experience or learning about Christ. Twenty-one of the interviewees indicated that they wanted to be with God in heaven as a secondary reason which influenced their decision to follow *Wε choŋa*.

In addition I attempted to identify from interviews whether people mentioned a specific person or activity influenced their desire to follow *Wε choŋa*. Table five shows that 86 percent were influenced by people and 14 percent by activities.

Table 5. Person / instrument influencing a person to follow *Wε choŋa*

#	%	Instrument
64	35.6	Pastor, catechist, church leader, prophet
50	27.6	Family members
21	11.6	friends
20	11.0	Missionaries or priests (expatriates)
12	6.6	went to church, saw, heard or read, or own thoughts
6	3.3	problems
4	2.2	Kasena church began
2	1.1	prayer
1	0.5	dream
1	0.5	Moved

181	100	

Family and friends were almost as influential as the combined categories of "pastor, catechist, church leader, prophet" and "Missionary, Priest". As the later category refers to expatriates, it means that at least 75 percent of those interviewed expressed that Kasena or other Ghanaians influenced them to follow *Wε choŋa*. From the table

we note that conversion is not only an individual experience, but conversion has an impact on family members and associated friends. People also mentioned additional "instruments" such as through teaching at school, seeing films, hearing God's word on cassette, going to crusades, prayer, literacy and tracts.

Many people did not limit conversion to an individual event. This is also reflected in the numbers of interviewees who changed churches. Of the 181 originally affiliated with a church, 77 (42 percent) changed churches. Fifty-five (71 percent) of the 77 changed church once, 20 (26 percent) changed twice and 13 (16 percent) changed three times. The details of these movements are shown in Appendix four. Nearly half the interviewees changed churches because they heard new teaching from Scripture which they had not understood before or they disagreed with the teaching of the church they were in.

The largest category of reasons for conversion is related to physical needs. These reasons are often depicted, especially in evangelical theology as not being genuine evidence of conversion. Instead, stress is laid on repentance of sin and acceptance of Christ. Yet to Kasena, physical problems, as illustrated in Chapter three are deeply interconnected with the spiritual realm. The resolution of the problem entails spiritual action. The physical reasons for wanting to follow *Wε choga* are intricately linked with discovering a greater power than was previously available to them. The meeting of a physical need thus entails allegiance to that new Power, Jesus Christ. This will be illustrated in individual examples throughout this chapter.

2. Migration, missionaries and evidence of God's power: 1950s to 1970s

(1) Migration of southern workers and the "United Church"

During the 1940s and 1950s, the Colonial Administration sent southern Ghanaians to work in Government offices, the Prison and as border officials in Navrongo and Paga. In the early 1950s some Christians from southern churches --

Presbyterian (PCG), Evangelical Presbyterian (EP), Methodist and Anglican -- formed a United Church in Navrongo. The church had little impact on Kasena who perceived it to be a southern church because services were conducted in Twi and English.¹⁰ Only two Kasena attended the church during the 1960s.¹¹ Presbyterian evangelists held services in the Pungu area during the late 1970s, but little information is available on the effect of these meetings.¹²

(2) "Free" and the communication of the gospel in Paga

In 1954 the Synod Committee of the PCG asked the Scottish Mission to open a Presbyterian Mission in northern Ghana.¹³ In 1956, the Rev. Joseph Eichholzer, a Swiss missionary with the Basel Mission commenced work in Bolgatanga and from there he began to visit Paga. He preached in Paga market place with the assistance of Peter Asebwom.¹⁴ Timothy Atawojei and John Wevea were attracted to his preaching. Both men faced significant problems. All Atawojei's children had died except for his son Ayariba.¹⁵ Wevea's wife Salome experienced frequent sickness and all but two of her children had died even though his *soŋo tiina* constantly consulted the *voro* and killed animals and fowls for their health.¹⁶

Both men decided to follow *We choŋa*. Timothy Atawojei and his brother lived in their own compound. When they became Christians, they threw their *jona* away themselves without calling in missionaries. Their grandfather was unhappy and the neighbours mocked them saying that they would die soon. However, after their conversion all the children lived. Wevea told his family that he wanted to follow God. He took the children and put them in God's hands. He told Salome to follow God but she refused, even though the childrens' sicknesses had ceased and hers had not. They migrated to the south but failed to find a cure for her. After several years, Salome realised she needed to "accept God" because of God's power and she was baptised in the south. No serious sickness troubled her again.

While building the first church, Eichholzer invited Martha Awotoombwe to

meet with them when the room was finished (Figure 16).¹⁷ When Martha attended the church, Eichholzer told people to think about problems they faced and select one for prayer "to see God's power at work." Martha thought of her struggle to have children. After her first child, she had never delivered another child. She then prayed for a child and within a month she was pregnant. The child is still alive today. The way missionaries prayed for peoples' sicknesses and helped them practically impressed her. She decided "God is good", she continued to pray to God and attend church.

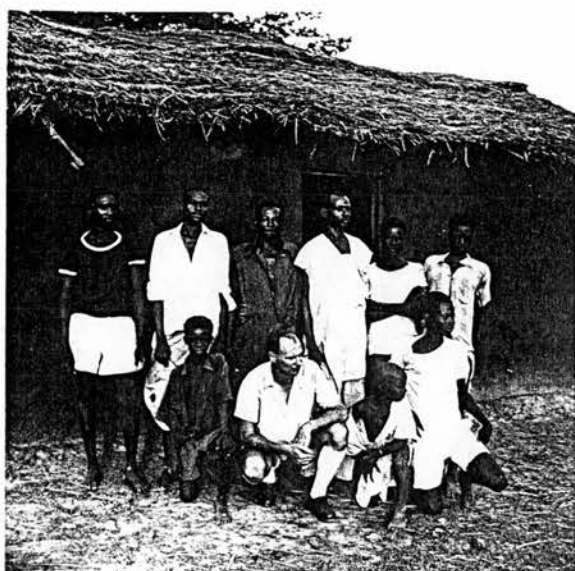


Figure 16. Rev. J.Eichholzer and some Christians at the Paga Presbyterian Church in 1956. (Photo: Rev. C. Forrester Paton)

Eichholzer's concern for the needs of people was expressed through prayer and also through freely giving medicines, clothing and food. This attracted many people to the church. Most people did not know Eichholzer's name so they simply called him "Free" because he gave them things "free".¹⁸ Ayariba also pointed out that when Eichholzer finished his sermons, he told people that they were now "'free' from Satan".¹⁹ A bigger church was completed in May 1962.²⁰ John Callow²¹ who came to Paga to work on the translation of the New Testament, noted that there were often more than 50 attending the church. A number of men from the south of Ghana,

usually Twi speakers, came to Paga as evangelists and Atawojei often interpreted into Kasem for them.²² Atawojei became an elder in the church. He also assisted John Callow check the translation of Scriptures into Kasem. During a church service in 1966, Callow observed that although Atawojei could not read, he spoke from one of the passages he had helped Callow to translate. Atawojei's translation influenced his children, Jacob Ayariba and Elizabeth Atawojei. They took over interpreting English messages into Kasem. Jacob Ayariba later trained with the PCG and he is now the Presbyterian Pastor at Walewale.

The emphasis on food and clothes lessened and the numbers coming declined. From 1981 to 1988, the PCG sent Ayariba to Paga to help strengthen the church. Ayariba commented "We saw we have to preach about the security of the gospel."²³ For some Christians such as John Wevea, his conversion experience went beyond receiving food and clothes from people. He saw God as his provider. When he was dying, he told Salome to continue attending church. He said she would suffer, but if she called God's name, she would not fail to eat.

(3) The entry of Presbyterian missionaries into the western Kasena area

Presbyterian missionaries Rev. and Mrs C. Forrester Paton opened a station in Sandema at the beginning of 1957 and then Rev. and Mrs R. Duncan joined them. Rev. R. Duncan first visited Katiu between 1957 and 1959, but the opportunity to consolidate their work came through the invitation of the Chiana chief, R.A. Ayagitam II.²⁴ In 1959, the missionaries placed an Evangelist, Mr A. Lartey, in the Chiana area where he worked until 1970.²⁵

In October 1961, Rev. R. Duncan baptised 72 people, mainly in families, from Katiu, Chiana and Gwenia. Samuel Petua and Joseph Adawora were among those baptised.²⁶ Petua wanted to follow *We choga* because he heard that the missionaries came "to teach us young people sense." Adawora summarised what he heard.

We took Satan to be the truth. So they said to us if you follow Satan, it has no use. And *vora*. We should leave all this and make one mouth and be happy with one another. Love your neighbour as you love yourself. That's what they wanted. If you are a Christian, let people know that you are a Christian, you shouldn't be doing evil things. Love all people as you love yourself.

John Logoyara from Gwenia decided to follow *Wε choŋa* because he saw there was great hope. He stated "I thought in my mind that our ancestors *kaane* trees and stones, but I know that a stone cannot speak. Our fathers did not know this and that was why they were in that way.... I said if that is the case I will follow God's word and I will leave our fathers way." Among the nine others interviewed in the western section, two began to follow *Wε choŋa* because they wanted to "learn sense". Others thought *Wε choŋa* was good or *Wε* created them and they would "see help" if they went to church. Robert Wekem's parents, Ebenezer Lugichim and Kachana were baptised in 1961.²⁷ Wekem decided to follow *Wε choŋa* because he saw their faith and he also saw God work in healing his sickness.

At Chiana Gwenia, John Logoyara and Noah Kofi Dedotia visited houses with the PCG missionaries.²⁸ They told people God's commandments and spoke about "*wε-diga*". Logoyara indicated that the missionaries brought a Bulsa man and so their talks would be translated from English to Buli and then into Kasem.²⁹

Petua and Adawora also recalled the gifts of clothing, food and medicine they were given and the way missionaries helped transport them to hospital. The food and clothing in particular attracted many people to the three churches.³⁰ However, as with Paga, when the food and clothes ceased being given the numbers declined. A woman who had attended the church as a child, but now attends another church commented: "They first gave the food and clothes so these things entered into their hearts. That means they have received those things thinking they have received Jesus. These things occupied their hearts and now they do not hear the word of God any more." Wekem also suggested that it would have been better "If they were to learn that they should come and believe Christ, that they should attend the church in the name of God and want to worship God, then later on whatever comes, then well and good."³¹

Logoyara related how some people left the church because they found the "wade"³² (rules) difficult. They were told that if a person went to church they were not to continue to work with *liri*. He explained that this was very difficult for those who possessed *liri* which was a part of their family work. People came to them for that *liri* and so the *liri* owner could not attend church. Missionaries and evangelists not only taught people that when a person attended church they had "no right to *kaane* or to eat *lira*," but they taught them that "God is all powerful." However, this powerful God was not translated into spiritual reality, as many people left the church when problems confronted them.

Among those I interviewed, seven had left the church. One man related how he heard from the teaching "leave *jona kaanem* because *jona* won't help us. If we follow God, God will help us." He told me how he had learned that Jesus Christ came to this earth and if a person followed God, they would not do evil things. He said he left *jona kaanem* and followed God. After his mother and father died, his *sogɔ tiina* told him to leave *Wε chogɔ* and come home to do his mother and father's work.³³ His family talked repeatedly to him about this. Initially the verbal bombardment did not affect his attendance at the church but when he began to lose his sight, his doubts magnified and no one from the church seemed to help him to work through these. It was then, he said "I thought in my mind that what they [his family] are saying may be true, my eyes don't see well." He then left the church and sat in his house. Two other men also left when they became househead because they had to see over the *jona*. The other three left because of sickness or poverty.

In addition many of those baptised continued to *kaane jona*. A woman explained how even though her father was baptised, he still continued to *kaane* because he did not understand the teaching. She commented: "They didn't know what God liked and what God didn't like. It was like some speech that they spoke to them... *Ba wo ke ba wo-dedoa ba sε Wε* (They did not make their stomach one and agree with God)³⁴ They still *kaane jona* ... This way did not have help in his life." However, she laid the blame for this on the translation process and not directly on the

missionaries or evangelists. She pointed out that those who translated did not teach them to understand that "Jesus is the one to agree and there is no other *kaanem* which can receive you." She added, "If he [the translator] doesn't know God's word, there are things he himself can't say properly for us to understand. It doesn't have meaning." She indicated that the process of translating from English into Twi or Buli and then into Kasem added significantly to the problem.³⁵

In spite of the numbers who left the PCG, there were those who continued faithfully to attend the church. One old man genuinely expressed how many people went to church because they were taught God's word "and it entered into their ears". He suggested that some are not attending now because of their old age. The Evangelists themselves struggled with their work. After Lartey left Jacob Ayariba from Paga worked in Chiana from 1970 to 1973.

The medical help of the PCG missionaries was the initial step for the conversion of some people. Ayijong is the second wife of Asalanyina.³⁶ When her eldest child became ill, an uncle in Katiu told them they should give their *wo-dedoa* (faith) to God and send the child to the PCG clinic at Sandema. For about 3 years Ayijong attended the clinic and the child's sickness was cured. During the time the child was sick, Ayijong attended the PCG church at Sandema. She stated, "We saw God's truth because our child survived." Their home in Kayoro-woro, north of Katiu was far from any church. Although Asalanyina and Ayijong did not continue to attend the PCG, they did not lose their desire to follow God. When Asalanyina heard in 1979 that Peter Jenkins, a missionary with SIM³⁷ had arrived in Chiana, he asked through his children that someone come to teach their family.

(4) The impact of migration on conversion and the Assemblies of God (AOG)

AOG missionaries first came to Paga in the late 1950s, but other Kasena began to follow *Wε choga* prior to the 1950s as a result of migrating to the Northern Region and meeting AOG missionaries who commenced to work there. Not only did

Yangyang Alira leave Kaya in Burkina Faso because of the effects of the poll tax, but so also did Alo from Tiébélé Kolo and Kandwe Ayamkori from Tiébélé Dulinia. All three migrated with family members progressively southward and finally settled near Walewale in the early 1930s.³⁸ In 1935, AOG missionaries opened a station at Walewale.³⁹ The Chief Commissioner gave the AOG permission to open a catechists school where they taught converts to read in the vernacular.⁴⁰ AOG missionaries commenced producing parts of the Gospels in Mampruli.⁴¹

When the AOG missionaries arrived in Walewale they taught Alo's small son, Akurigu, and other children from "God's book".⁴² Akurigu decided to follow God and go to Bible School. However, his father, Alo, was a *voro* and Akurigu's decision disturbed Alo. Alo told Akurigu that as he was his eldest son, it was not good for him to follow God and not to *kaane jona*. Alo asserted, "If I die, you are supposed to make my funeral and to make all the *chullu* (customs)." Periodically, Akurigu talked with him.

I told him God made everything. *Jom* can't do anything. When you talk of your fathers' *chullu*, your fathers' do nothing. If your father dies, and he doesn't go to God's house, he has gone to hell. If he is in hell and you say your father should get up and collect, where is he to collect? If he is in God's house he doesn't want anything. Everything is good for him there.

His father finally "made *kantesa* (confessed) and followed God". Akurigu and Alo then took his *jona* and *vogo*⁴³ and burnt them all. Most of Alo's family also "made *kantesa* and followed God."

Yangyang Alira's son Kaba "made *tuba*" (repented)⁴⁴ as a result of reading portions of Scripture which a Mamprusi Pastor Nantoma gave to him.⁴⁵ Alira then "made *tuba*", and in 1953 Alira's younger son, Pewotigi, "made *tuba*".⁴⁶ Pewotigi decided to do this because he learned that humans have to face death twice. One was a death on earth, the other was because of sin. If a person had not already received Jesus on earth, they would not see God.

In Kandwe Ayamkori's case, he "was the first to repent" in his home.⁴⁷ He

threw all his *jona* away, but because of opposition from his brothers, he moved to his own house and married a wife. Kulibanine Tagwaje and his wife from Chiana Wurunia also migrated to Walewale. He had been renowned for all the *liri* he kept in his room.⁴⁸ His wife became mentally ill after seeing some chameleons.⁴⁹ She was subsequently healed "through God's power", in the Walewale AOG church. This healing had an impact on Kulibanine's nephew Adombadaga Akewo who came from Katiu to Walewale in 1959. Adombadaga "made *tuba*" when he realized that God had great power because he healed his uncle's wife.

Joshua Kaba, Akurigu Alo and several other Kasena were among the first students to attend the Northern Ghana Bible Institute at Kumbungu outside Tamale in 1949.⁵⁰ A number of other Kasena men also entered the Bible School in the following years: Ayamkori Kandwe (1952-54), Thomas Pewotigi (1959-61) and Adombadaga Akewo (1969-73). Kasena migrated to other communities in the Mamprusi District and also to Pong-Tamale. Akurigu pastored mainly Kasena in the Mamprusi area for 42 years and retired while at the Walewale AOG church in 1991.⁵¹ Ayamkori and Pewotigi also pastored churches in the Mamprusi area.⁵²

The Kasena men who became AOG Pastors faced a life of uncertainty which placed severe strains on their commitment to their new faith. The AOG Mission does not pay Pastors; each Pastor is supported by his church. In areas where the church is small with little income from a nearly subsistence economy, a Pastor is forced to rely largely on his own resourcefulness. In the early years of Pewotigi's experience as Pastor, he struggled to find sufficient food for his family, but he persevered even though at times they only drank water for two days. Pewotigi concluded, "It is God's word which is holding us today. We are not money people, but we don't fail to eat."⁵³

Ayamkori largely depended on his own work, carving wood and farming, to meet his wife's needs and support his nine children through school.⁵⁴ His son Joseph saw the way his father suffered and he decided he would never become a pastor. Joseph related that many times they went without food for days, but he added, "the

Lord never failed us." The difficulties Pastor Kandwe faced and the way God helped them had a profound effect on Joseph. He saw the Christian life in his father and he heard what his father taught them about Christ. "It really urged me to give my life wholly to the Lord. I really finally accepted the call of God to go to the Bible School and become a pastor in 1976."⁵⁵

The movement of the Kasena south to Mamprusi and Dagomba areas, placed them in a vulnerable position. Some came as "refugees", fleeing what they perceived to be persecution, while others were curiosity seekers or simply wanting a better life. The act of leaving their homeland made them receptive to new ideas, among which was the gospel of Jesus Christ. Their beginning a new life in a new place coincided with the commencement of the AOG work, but their response to the Gospel was not a naive opportunistic reaction as there was little financial gain, especially for those entering pastoral work.

Although five or six of the first graduates from the AOG Bible Institute in 1952 were Kasena, all were sent by the missionaries to the Mamprusi. This occurred because all had grown up in the Mamprusi area and furthermore, AOG missionaries felt that the RC Church dominated the Navrongo area.⁵⁶ It was only in 1958 that AOG missionaries began visiting Paga, but they avoided Navrongo. It was not until 1966, that Pastor Kaba migrated to Navrongo because he believed God wanted him to work with his own people.⁵⁷

(5) AOG entry to the Kasena homeland: Paga

AOG missionaries Pauline Smith and Adeline Wichman initiated the AOG work in the Kasena area through a "Crusade" at the Paga chiefs house. Many people indicated they "agreed with God". Oscar Ayirah witnessed the event.⁵⁸ He "began to know God" through the teaching of Fr. Morin at the Paga school in 1952. John Callow observed in December 1962 that only a small group met and a Pastor "Andrew" taught them.⁵⁹ In October 1964, Ayirah began working with Callow and

during this time Ayirah became a Christian.⁶⁰ Ayirah assisted in the preaching at the church. In 1966 Pastor Kaba began to visit Paga from Navrongo. Nehemiah Adombadaga commenced pastoring Paga church in 1973. However, he left because of the hardship of surviving in a church with small numbers.⁶¹ He suffered greatly with little to eat, but he had clothes to wear and God helped him.⁶² He moved to Upper Volta with AOG, but because of financial difficulties he was unable to pay tax. As a result he left the AOG and joined the "Église Apostolique" where he now works with a church in Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso.⁶³ Pastors Kaba and Akurigu continued to visit Paga, but the church remained very small. Ayirah helped in the AOG church and became actively involved with literacy work affiliated to the Ghana Institute of Linguistics, Literacy and Bible Translation (GILLBT). He also played a role in the establishment of the Paga-Buru church.

(6) Crisis, the coming of *wε* and family intervention: the AOG church at Paga-Buru

The establishment of the Paga-Buru AOG church largely resulted from the conversion of a man called Alagesam and his house. Three factors are significant: crisis, a desire to follow *wε* and the intercession of family and friends. Alagesam farmed very successfully at Navio.⁶⁴ People claimed he used *lira* to help his crops, but he said *Wε* (God) helped him. On one occasion during his farming he saw a strange sight (*kawolo*)⁶⁵ on his farm. He consulted several *voro* who said the *kawolo* was his *wε* (God) which came "and sat on him". One *voro* built the *wε* outside Alagesam's house entrance and told him to follow this *wε*. Alagesam did only what the *wε* told him for it spoke to him like a *chichiribu* (spirit). Alagesam communicated the messages through two people, his friend Agweru and his son. Agweru described the *wε* as being "like a telegram." The *wε* (Agweru referred to it as "Satan") told Alagesam to stop farming, to eat only *guli* made from maize which he ground himself, not to cut his hair, how to bathe and where to draw water from.

On one occasion the *wε* informed Alagesam that he should build *wε* a "*wε diga*" (God room), otherwise *wε* would kill him. The *wε* gave him two instructions.

First, as *wε* ruled over the ground, the land had to be cleansed of the blood that had fallen when the *gwala* (slave raiders) came and killed people. Alagesam had to tell the chief, elders and land owners to bring a sheep and cow which would be killed and used to plead with the ground. Alagesam obeyed and the chief provided the animals for the *wε* to take the blood away and to build his room. Second, the *wε* told Alagesam to send people to a powerful *tangwam* called *wε bu* (God's child) at Naviri in Burkina Faso for they would give instructions on building the *wε diga*.⁶⁶ The Naviri *wε* refused the sheep Alagesam's assistants sent. Alagesam's *wε* then directed Agweru and another son of Alagesam to go to Loro (in Burkina Faso but north of Tumu, Leo and Korogo).⁶⁷ It was only after a second visit to Loro that the people agreed to come to Paga-Buru and build the *wε-diga*. When they arrived at Paga-Buru, they completed ritual prior to entering Navio and building the room.⁶⁸

After the Loro people built the room and left, the *tega tu* (land guardian) complained to the Navrongo Chief about this *wε diga*.⁶⁹ He told the Chief that the *tangwam* had told him that the Loro people built a *liri* (medicine) room which prevented the *tangwam* from roaming about because "it was on the *tangwam*'s eye". If *wε* wanted to come, it should have come to the *tangwam* as he is the father and is over the land. The elders also disapproved of Alagesam building a *liri* room because the "doctor has built a house at Navrongo, so that if someone is sick, they are sent there." The Navrongo chief then sent police to destroy the room so that the *tangwam* would again roam about.⁷⁰

Alagesam and Agweru then begged the *wε* to come and build the room, then no one would challenge them because God gave the land. The *wε* advised Alagesam to wait while it continued to communicate with him. Alagesam's hair grew longer and many people said he was mentally disturbed. Others speculated that he used *liri*.⁷¹ Alagesam himself told his *wε* that it was killing him because of the suffering it caused him. He constantly killed his animals for the *wε*, all his wives either ran away or he dismissed them and some of his children and his sons children died. Alagesam spoke to the *wε* at one time and said, "If you are not *wε* and you want to kill me Alagesam,

kill me and I will rest. If you are *wε* then come down and work what you want to work and let me rest." On that occasion he killed a cow for the *wε*.

It was at this point that Alagesam's sister Tetare, intervened for him. She lived in the Paga chief's house and attended the Paga AOG church. When a preacher (Awusiman⁷²) visited Paga, she begged him to visit her brother and pray for him because they did not know what was troubling him. She accompanied them to Paga-Buru, where Awusiman prayed for Alagesam. Then he told Tetare, that "Satan has him, we should beg God all the time so that when we beg God for long, God will come and seize his hand from Satan's hand and he will rest." Over a period of time, Christians including Ayirah went to Paga-Buru to pray for Alagesam. Ayirah asked Pastor Kaba to visit Alagesam. Kaba interpreted Alagesam's *wε* to be "Satan" and told every one to pray to God. He preached to Alagesam and Agweru about the peace which Jesus gives. He taught them God's way and how to follow it. He also showed them how Satan worked. Both men agreed and "made *tuba*".⁷³ Pastor Kaba arranged to come one day so they could destroy the *wε*, *liri*, and the *jona*. However, the night before they came, Alagesam took a stick, broke everything up and threw it away. When Pastor Kaba returned, he only shaved Alagesam's head. Pastor Awindow commented that when they repented, Alagesam became like a young man again.⁷⁴ Agweru interpreted Alagesam's experience as coming from the creator God.

Wε gave his work to Alagesam to come to the earth and work. Then Satan came to use Alagesam to work. Alagesam called *Wε*'s name and Satan said he is *Wε*. Then *Wε* let people who know come and rescue Alagesam from Satan hands and Satan had to go away. ... It left only *Wε* (God) that we use to work. Only one *Wε*. If you beg *Wε*, you will be forgiven. ... It is now praying to *Wε*. It is now that we know that *Baga Wε* is holding his hand. Satan was trying to seize him. We saw *yazura* (well-being)."⁷⁵

Pastor Kaba continued to visit Paga-Buru and Ayirah also preached there.⁷⁶ Callow estimates that the evangelistic work began in Paga-Buru between January and May 1965.⁷⁷ The Christians built the small room on Alagesam's land in which they could meet (Figures 17-19).⁷⁸ Many in Alagesam's family became Christians. Others in Paga-Buru followed Jesus Christ.



Figure 17. Alagesam. Source: Agweru



Figure 18. Agweru.

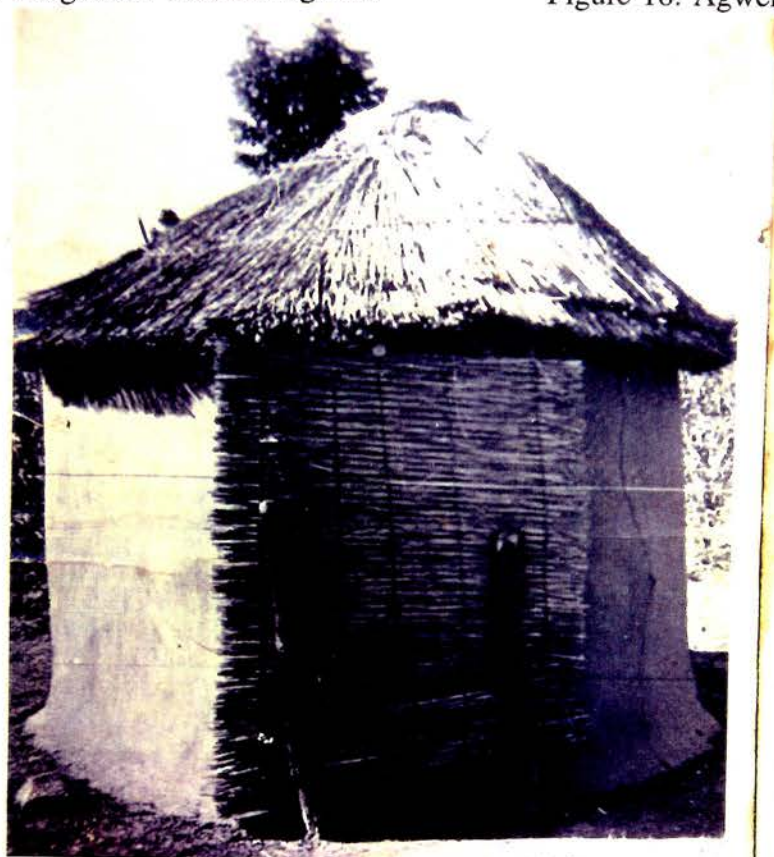


Figure 19. First small Assemblies of God church built at Paga-Buru.
Source: Agweru

(7) Migration and healing: the beginning of the Navrongo AOG church

Pastor Peter Awindow, began work in Bolgatanga in 1956.⁷⁹ He visited Navrongo and Paga, but as he did not speak Kasem, he encouraged Pastor Joshua Kaba to come and work in Navrongo. Pastors Kaba and Pewotigi visited Navrongo with the AOG missionary Mr Hokett a number of times in 1965.⁸⁰ In February 1966, Kaba and Awindow met a man called Chana in Navrongo from whom they rented two rooms.⁸¹ They told Chana they wanted to start God's work and they wanted him to help start it, but he laughed because they were strangers to him. Kaba and his family migrated from Walewale to Navrongo in May 1966.⁸² Kaba often conversed with Chana and when he finished he always said, "let us talk to God". In the last week of June 1966, Chana "made *tuba*". Kaba told Chana he was like "the stone on which people would stand" and he gave him the name "Peter". Kaba even arranged for Chana to marry a Christian woman from Burkina Faso as he feared that if Chana married a non-Christian, she may pull him back to the *jona*.

Pastor Kaba believed God could heal people from sickness and mental illness through prayer. This resulted in the conversion of a number of people who then entered the AOG Church in its early years. Chana told his sisters, Martha Kama and Naomi Anyaneba that Kaba followed God and was able to heal their sicknesses which they had experienced for many years.⁸³ Martha stated:

He [Kaba] told us how *Wε choga* is. If something worries you and you accept (*sε*) Jesus you will have yourself. If you are hungry or any sickness disturbs you and you give your heart to Jesus (*n kwe n bochaare n pa Yezu*), he is a Saviour, he has come to save everyone ... if you accept him, you will not *kaane jona*. You won't do anything, you will only give your heart to Jesus Christ.

In their mother's yard "Pastor gave the *tuba*" and their sickness was healed. As a result they knew God was true.

Atongba displayed signs of mental illness about 1965.⁸⁴ Both his parents interpreted the illness in spiritual terms. His mother who attended the RC church, argued that it was a sign of God calling Atongba, but her husband related it to *jona*

and acquired a *nabila* (tail) to help cure the illness. A friend suggested they call Pastor Kaba who had told him that if they prayed for a person who has *chichiri* (spirits), the *chichiri* would run away. Pastor Kaba came and prayed several times for Atongba. Atongba lived for a time with Kaba and over three years slowly regained his health. On occasions the illness showed signs of recurring.⁸⁵ Kaba continued praying for him, but he also admitted Atongba to the hospital for three months treatment and he told Atongba's father that the *jona kaanem* caused the mental illness. Atongba's father threw away the *nabila*, *jona* and the pots on which they *kaane*. The illness never returned and Chana helped John Atongba find work. His whole house gave themselves to God. Atongba said "We know it is God who gives life that is why we have given ourselves to God." Although Atongba does not read, Chana acknowledged that "God has given him wisdom to gather people and talk to them".⁸⁶

Jacob Atega from Tiébélé, Burkina Faso, also suffered from sickness.⁸⁷ He moved to Navrongo where he met Kaba. Kaba told Atega that "there is nothing which can help you except for God" and he prayed for him. Atega stated: "The heat that was with me, a wind came and blew and I had peace inside."⁸⁸ All his wives and most of his children also "are in God's hand" including some in his house at Tiébélé. Atega concluded, "now I have seen the truth and power of God." Pastor Kaba also prayed for the healing of a small boy, Jonah Kwotua. After Kwotua's birth, a *de* (python) shrine in his father's house selected him for *swεem* on this shrine and his father named him "Desekwotua" ('python agrees father came').⁸⁹ Kwotua became ill around 1969, but was healed after Kaba prayed for him. The father told Kwotua to go to the church because God saved him. Kwotua realised that Jesus healed him and not the "*de*". He agreed to follow Jesus and then went to the *kambia* (pot) from which the *swεem* had taken place, and declared "At the time they didn't know and they gave me to this. I now know and remove myself from inside it." He added, "I did not have the power to spoil the *kambia*, but I could remove myself from the covenant and *swεem*." Around 1984, his father, who held the ritual authority for the *kambia*, came to "know God" and he destroyed the *kambia*.

A number of others such as Sarah Anaesia believed as a result of a "Crusade" Kaba held in the Navrongo park and the persistent way he helped them cope with their fears.⁹⁰ Although the early members experienced healing this did not result in an influx to the AOG church; it remained small. Kaba taught Christians to leave anything to do with the *jona*, their fathers and funerals.

The presence of the AOG church in the Kasena-Nankana District began with migration stories and then the return to the north of men such as Joseph Kaba. AOG missionaries emphasized reading God's word and literature in the vernacular languages. Adeline Wichman and Pauline Smith translated some passages into Kasem.⁹¹ Kasena heard that they should "make *tuba*" and they heard about the after life. However, nearly half the 26 AOG members I interviewed began to follow *Wε choŋa* because of God's power meeting a need such as sickness, mental illness or some other problem. People interpreted their problems within a framework which showed continuity with traditional interpretations. They did identify a spiritual dimension. The spirits associated with the problems were *chichiri* or 'Satan'. These spirits had to be confronted with spiritual action - prayer. In Alagesam's case, this was particularly relevant because those who came to pray for him did not deny his experience. People also communicated God's power to their family members or influenced family as in the cases of Peter Chana and Alagesam. During the early part of the 1970s little growth occurred in AOG churches and PCG church numbers declined.

3. Coincidence or Providence: emerging new church groups and the role of Kasena Scriptures between 1977 and 1985

At the end of the 70s and beginning of the 80s four events providentially coincided which had a major impact on Kasena conversion. Three new church groups were established and portions of the Kasem New Testament were published. Changes occurred in the communication of *Wε choŋa* which altered peoples' perception of *Wε*.

(1) Conversion through crisis: Kasena enter the Church of Pentecost (CP)⁹²

Madame Sarah Bawah, a member of the CP migrated to Navrongo for work in 1973. A Pastor Ennum helped her start the CP.⁹³ Initially little growth occurred and only in 1979 did the church begin to stabilise. However, Kasena perceived the church to be a "southern church" and no Kasena became members until Symon Bukari joined the CP in 1982. Madame Bawah returned south in 1983.

Symon Bukari was born in 1938. His father, a Gourma, came to Navrongo to join the Police Constabulary. His mother was from Navrongo. From 1947 to 1952, Bukari attended school in Chiana.⁹⁴ After completing Senior School at Sandema, he worked both in the north and south of Ghana before joining the Civil Service as a clerical officer in 1961. From 1962 to 1964 he worked in Chiana. When Bukari became the assistant clerk of Sandema Council, his life deteriorated. He drank heavily, "took life for granted" and his wife left him. Bukari embezzled funds to support his alcoholic habit and in 1977 he was convicted and imprisoned in Navrongo.

Bukari had occasionally attended church in the south, but had learned little from it. However, in prison only religious books were available for reading. When Bukari read about Christ, he realised his life was worth little but he "could be a new person in Christ." Bukari read a tract on drunkenness and careless living.⁹⁵

When I read that tract I was magnified. I thought he had just written about myself. I was convinced that if I gave my life to Christ, I would be a changed person inside. So I decided to give up and become a Christian. ... I realised that when I got drunk, I did things I didn't want to do. I wasn't born a dishonest person, but anytime I was drunk, I was out of senses and I did things that weren't good and that led even to my conviction. So I realised that if I received Christ, I would give up the habit of drinking and have a peaceful life.

Bukari corresponded with Rev. Nyarko who sent Bibles and also told Bukari more about the CP.⁹⁶ Therefore, when Bukari was released from prison in 1982, he went to the CP where he was baptised. About 5 months after his release, Bukari married Mary Kayara from Chiana Nyangania.

When CP preachers spoke from God's word on the "social vices", this had an impact on Bukari. Over time Bukari "repented" completely from what he was doing. He wanted a new life, but he struggled with alcohol in particular. Whenever he smelt it, he felt the desire to drink. The leaders advised him to pray intensively. Whenever he had a strong desire to drink he would pray. "If it happened in the night I knelt on my bed and prayed to the Lord to have mercy on me and give me the stamina to stand." As a result he eventually overcame his drink habit. After a period of time, the CP made Bukari a probationary deacon. In 1984 they anointed him to be a deacon and in 1986 he was anointed as an Elder at the Regional Office in Tamale.

Mary Kayara⁹⁷ Bukari was born in Chiana Nyangania in the mid 1950s. She attended school in Chiana Gwenia and at Tamale. She moved to the south with her Kasena husband where she learned to sew as a trade. Her marriage proved to be difficult as her husband did not give the *kadiri* (marriage) gifts nor did she deliver children. She returned to Nyangania. Her family collected *liri* for her, but she did not conceive. It disturbed her deeply and she would weep in her room because of it. As a woman in Kasena society, she was not allowed to *kaane*, nor did she have a husband to *kaane* for her. She then heard of the "Chiana Asore (church)"⁹⁸ and she decided to go there because she heard that those who went there, "found something to do" (pray). In 1977 she began attending to see if God would hear her prayers for children or give her a good husband. In her time there she did not learn much from the Bible, but they prayed for people. When she met Bukari, in 1982, she married him and agreed to go to the CP. It was there she learned God's word and she realised that even if she did not have children, she was doing good in the world. She stated, "if I have a child or I don't have a child - if only God sends me to heaven, I will be very happy but not because of children." She said Bukari also knew the Word of God and was not disturbed by her not having children. After marriage to Bukari, they worked hard making mattresses to sell in order to survive. They slowly made sufficient money to build their own house. The CP selected Mary to receive training to help her lead women's work in the church. She teaches women God's word and practical skills to enable them to earn money.

Three-quarters of those I interviewed in the CP joined the CP because God had healed them in some way or they realised Jesus could save them and deliver them from problems such as drunkenness. The CP places a great emphasis on the power of prayer and the Holy Spirit in helping a person to overcome their problems. During church services opportunity is provided for people to "give testimonies" about God's power as well as requesting prayer for problems.

(2) Migration and Healing: the migrant returns as a Prophet

In 1953 the Church of the Lord (Aladura) was established in Ghana, but in 1965 it became autonomous adopting the name, "Church of the Lord (Ghana)". After a lengthy dispute in 1972 a segment of the Church broke away and formed a new church called "Church of the Lord Mission" (COLM).⁹⁹ The COLM did not make an institutional decision to enter the Kasena. Instead migration and healing were the key factors which contributed to the establishment of the COLM among the Kasena. In the COLM story, there are three overlapping phases.

a. A bridge between the old and new

Madame Rebecca Kawuru¹⁰⁰ was born in the Bulsa community of Kalejisa, Sandema and married Abavang from Chiana Gugoro.¹⁰¹ She and her husband migrated to the south of Ghana and lived for a time near Nkawkaw. Kawuru suffered much sickness and her husband tried *kaanem*, many different medicines and healers, but everything failed. In about 1972, a man wearing a long white robe appeared in their town and held "open" meetings during which he prayed for people.¹⁰² Kawuru's son, Blankson told his mother about the prophet who preached: "Jesus is all powerful ... There is nothing which God cannot do ... all those who are not well should kneel down so he can pray for them." Kawuru went to the meetings and the prophet prayed for her. He also told her husband not to take her to a *liri* person because God would save her. Throughout the week he prayed for her and she listened to God's word. He gave her water to drink and for bathing.

During that week, one of her sons had a dream. He saw someone operate on his mother's heart and then use water to wash the heart before re-sewing it. When Madame Kawuru told the prophet the dream, he told her she would be healed and when she was well she should work for God. Madame Kawuru then knew that "God really had power and that God had chosen her to do his work." Kawuru fasted for "40 days" during which the "Holy Spirit came on her" and power was within her. Kawuru then tried to find a church to work with and she eventually joined the Church of the Lord (Aladura) where a "Pastor Comfort" taught her how to pray for people, to speak God's word and prophesy. Both women had a vision that Madame Kawuru would do God's work because God's power was on her. Kawuru began a number of congregations in the Aburaso area. She then joined the Church of the Lord Mission (COLM) and continued to work in the south.

In late 1977, Madame Kawuru (Figure 20) returned north for her brother's funeral at Kalejisa. While there she dreamt that she should pray for people, but as people *kaane jona* she thought that there was no point in praying for them. Instead she tried to earn money brewing pito to return south to her husband. Over a period of time, whenever she carried the pot to sell the pito, the pot fell on the ground and the pito poured out. She became afraid for she interpreted this as God's sign to her that she was meant to stay to pray for sick people. She accepted what God said to her and began to worship and pray for the sick in the house at Sandema. As people began to experience healing, word quickly spread. In October 1978, a Bulsa Christian reported that "She uses Jesus name as a cure and that is her business. Jesus has come and gone but she has now come in His place."¹⁰³ Howard Brant recalls "that literally hundreds of people came to her meetings -- many from far away by tractor trailer."¹⁰⁴

Kawuru moved to her husband's house at Chiana Gugoro and used a room for meeting purposes.¹⁰⁵ She prayed for people and many were healed.¹⁰⁶ Large numbers of people from many places were attracted to Gugoro. Her assistants cleared a place outside the house and constructed a room for the people who came from distant places to sleep in. They built a road into Gugoro from the Chiana-Sandema road, to enable

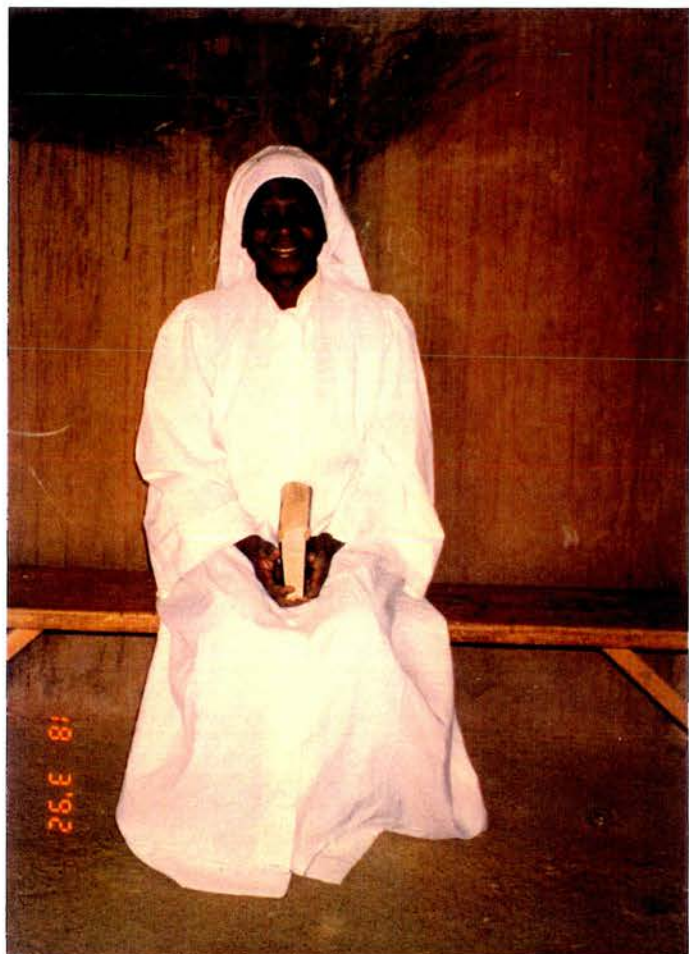


Figure 20. Madame Kawuru.



Figure 21. Navrongo-Saboro COLM church.

the lorries to reach Gugoro. People from Burkina Faso and Paga pleaded with Kawuru to open branches in their area so they could gather and listen to God's word. By this time Kawuru had selected elders to assist her.

One of these elders was Paul Abadigao Ali from Gugoro.¹⁰⁷ His wife Wolentera experienced frequent sickness, but when Madame Kawuru came, Abadigao sent her to the church and she was healed. They joined the church and after being baptised, Abadigao told his father: "See, how we received baptism, if there is a *jona* you *kaane*, we will not follow and *kaane*." All his house people followed him there. Abadigao and several others actively participated in the church.¹⁰⁸ Abadigao stated emphatically that in the initial days of his involvement with the COLM, "we really used Jesus Christ's name to work. We worked with Jesus Christ's strength." They placed great emphasis on prayer to God and the Holy Spirit working in the Christian. Kawuru selected Abadigao and others to send God's word to people in places such as Navrongo (Figure 21), Paga, Pô, Tiébélé, Tangaso, Sandema, Wiaga and Katiu. Kawuru also selected a woman in each place "whose thoughts could handle communication", as her representative, but not all of these women were literate.

Mary Abaswe, from Katiu-Saga, Ada Adamwoyei and his wife from Katiu Adabania and Vida Angweniaba from Chuchuliga each experienced healing and began churches in their areas. Abaswe stated: "I knelt down, I agreed and gave to God; it was on this I had health. That made me follow God because I know he is the power of all. I know he is my creator that is why I follow God."¹⁰⁹ Her husband, Isaac Tonno, added "What receives you, you are to accept it and follow it. Both me and my wife went and knelt down there and that is why I also joined *We choga*. I know it is true, Jesus has power." Madame Kawuru told Abaswe that because God had received her, she should also heal people. They taught her at Gugoro how to kneel and pray for a sick person and give the person to God. She concluded, "It is God who will then come and heal that person."

Madame Vida's husband, Awεleba is a Kasena from Kalivio who moved to his

nabera house in Chuchuliga.¹¹⁰ He too was healed of his sickness. Madame Vida explained that, "She [Kawuru] talked that this is *Wε* (God). Leave all things to follow his back." She added, "When I followed my father *Wε*, sickness did not catch me again."¹¹¹ *Aweleba* ceased to *kaane jona*. Madame Vida began a COLM church at Chuchuliga in 1983. Adamwoyei followed *Wε choga* not only because he and his wife experienced healing.¹¹² He explained, "I found that *Wε choga* is good. Because Jesus Christ came and suffered much because of us. ... I saw that if I follow Jesus Christ he will send me to heaven. I saw that his word he spoke is truth. That's why I followed *Wε choga*." They began to meet in Adabania in 1985. In 1987, some of the COLM members from Gugoro helped them to build a church.

About three-quarters of those interviewed in the COLM had initially joined the COLM because of a healing experience. This was not, however, the case for everyone. Peter Banavatei Atongwo, the son of Peter Atongwo (the first RC member in Abulu) went to the COLM in 1977 out of curiosity.¹¹³ He remained in the COLM because they prayed in a similar manner to the RC church at Asunia which was further away. Kawuru selected him to work with a woman at Nyangania. However, the Nyangania elders told the group to leave the area. Peter then started the COLM at Abulu in 1979 and his brother, Robert joined him leading the group (Figure 22).

In the early days of Madame Kawuru's ministry, the methods of work used were prayer and the name of Jesus. In late 1978 or early 1979, Howard Brant interviewed Madame Kawuru. She related her story of healing to him and how someone had given her "the spirit through which she now worked."¹¹⁴ Brant stated "She seemed to think that the power she had was from God. She would use the name of Jesus in her 'healings'." He recalled that "she did not give glory to the Lord but rather told about how many people 'she' had cured from various diseases." She had a Bible but did not read it. However, as illustrated in the above cases and in my interviews with others who experienced healing in the early years of Kawuru's work, people gave the credit for their healing to the power of God and not to Madame Kawuru's power. For example, Alsaliþe went to Kalivio with her sick child when she

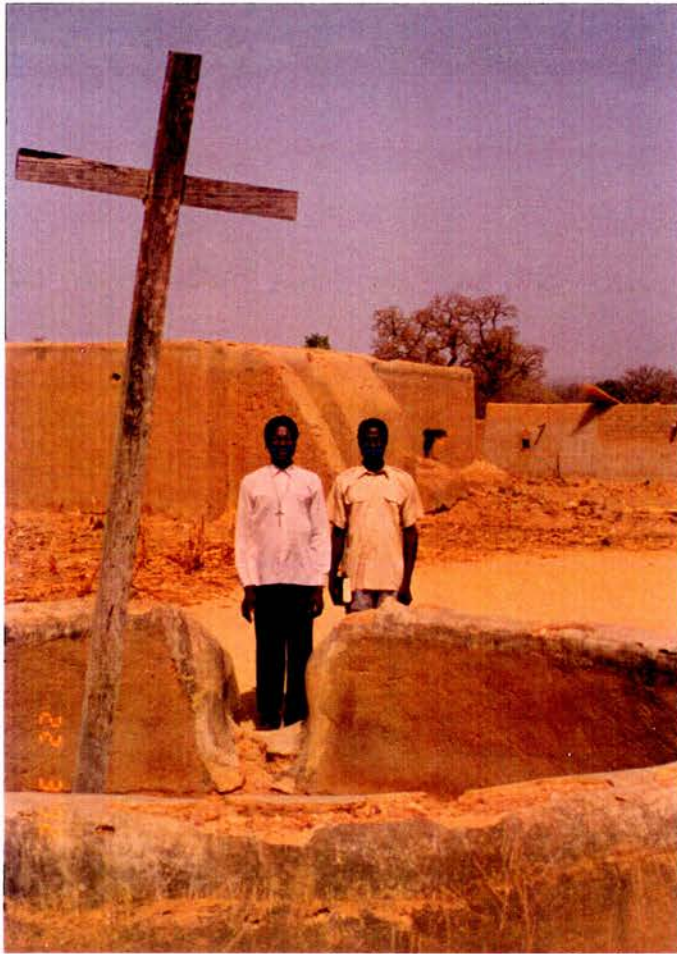


Figure 22. Peter Banavatei Atongwo and Robert Atongwo: leaders of Abulu COLM.



Figure 23. Rev Miriku and the leaders of the Navrongo Saboro COLM.

heard that Kawuru had brought God's word to Kalivio and it was good. She stated

God talked and talked what was behind it. I knew God has power. I knew God knows what is important that is why he left what I brought and showed me what I haven't brought. What God said, I saw it with my eye. It made my heart to be in the church. I have no Saviour only God will save me.¹¹⁵

In this initial phase Madame Kawuru healed people in Jesus name, directed people to follow *Wε choŋa*, to pray and to leave the *jona*. Her own family moved out and built their own house, away from the family house because they did not wish to participate in the *jona*. People told me that they began to follow Jesus and ceased to *kaane jona*. Paul Abasili related how he started to go to Kawuru's church when he was 13 or 14 years old. His father had died and he already had to *kaane jona*. He indicated he did not know Jesus properly, but he had faith in God, began to leave *jona kaanem* and started praying in his house. Abasili stated "as God has made human beings and made him to know that he is God, that made me to go to Kawuru's church."¹¹⁶

Kawuru functioned in a similar way to the Prophet Harris in the initial and core elements of her message. Some people came to a new comprehension of the power of *Wε* and of Jesus Christ. Kawuru acted like a bridge between the old and new. She appeared to perform miracles like Jesus, yet also functioned like a shrine. During the church services they read from God's Word, sang, clapped, danced, and prayed. Sick people would come and they would pray to God and beg for health.¹¹⁷ They also prayed over water in a pot, which was called "Friday water", and sprinkled this water on the sick. At times they added palm leaves, olive oil or sand from the base of the cross to the water so the person would drink, rub it on their body and use it to bathe with in the name of Jesus.

b. The emergence of "talking" and *sampwora* like activities

Church members not only prayed for people; they were taught that when the Holy Spirit came on a person, it made them "talk things". They would then talk about a person's behaviour saying, "This has you" or "That has you", or "They did this and it has you". It is uncertain how quickly this activity of "talking about a person's

behaviour" or identifying the cause of the problem began, but it brought serious controversy into the COLM. One factor which people identified through the "talking" was whether a *chero* was responsible for the person's sickness or whether a person was himself or herself a *chero*. Out of 108 interviews in Chiana and Kayoro, 28 people specifically referred to this identification of *chera* at the COLM. One woman told me that all her children had died. She heard that *chera* had been catching children and if you sent the child to the church, no *chero* would catch it. She went with her most recently born child, they prayed and it survived. This reinforced a belief that the COLM could protect people from being "caught" by *chera*.

The identification of *chera* became a pronounced reason for entire households going to Gugoro. A woman related how she accompanied her whole compound because they heard that if you did not go it meant there were *chera* in your house. She described what they saw at Gugoro: "We saw there some boys and men throwing themselves down, crying and rolling about and I heard some people say 'they have the sumsum' (spirit)."¹¹⁸ The "sumsum bia" said things about people such as "it is *chero* who has caught this man's soul." The "sumsum bia" did not identify any *chera* in her house, so her house never went again. In interviews, people testified that the "sumsum bia" had the main role either identifying people as *chera* or indicating *chera* had caught them.¹¹⁹ Some people reported that the "sumsum bia" beat those people identified as *chera* and some even claimed that they sat them on ants nests. This brought division within houses. Individuals also began to leave the church. A woman stated "the sumsum people held me and told me something which burned my heart and I did not go there again." Another woman went to the extent of fleeing to Kumasi. She was pregnant at the time she went to the COLM. She stated, "the sumsum bia came and caught me [and told me] that a *chero* has caught me to kill me." She left for Kumasi because the *chera* could not go and catch her there. After the birth of her child, she returned and her husband's father then sent her to a *tangwam* where they put a *kwara* (horn) around her neck to protect her from *chera*. Later when the woman began to follow Christ through another church she removed the *kwara* because "Jesus has more power than the *kwara*." The "sumsum bia"

interpreted people's problems in accordance with Kasena thinking, identifying spiritual causes or agent. They also began to give solutions such as to *kaane jona* which reflected the continuity of Kasena thinking or to make "sareka" (offerings),¹²⁰ a Muslim solution. Some people who attended the COLM began to also display signs of mental illness because "*chichiri*" came on them.¹²¹

These practices led to condemnation from Kasena within the community and from people in other churches. A *voro* told me that the COLM was not a church. He refused to go because they rolled on the ground and identified people as *chero*. He stated to me, "No human can say someone is a *chero* unless *We* knows." He did not regard the "sumsum" as being a spirit from God. Another man told me that he had been a member of the RC church at the time Madame Kawuru arrived. They were warned not to go to her church because it was not truth. He quoted a verse from Matthew which told them that "false prophets will come", and they are "lying prophets" who "will deceive us so that we leave the true way." However, it appears that most who went to Madame Kawuru were not in the "true way" to start with.

One Christian in another church referred to the COLM as "demonic" and claimed that it caused the death of a woman. Peter Jenkins, the SIM missionary based at Chiana, twice visited the COLM at Kalivio-Gugoro. A man in COLM invited him to preach there and Jenkins stated that the first time "It was reasonable as 'Madam' was not there."¹²² However, she was present at his second visit and he was convinced that "some of the women became demon possessed during the 'propheying'."¹²³ Howard Brant observed people "whirling round and round" and he thought that the "people were possessed by another spirit."¹²⁴ People rolling on the ground also shocked some Kasena as this is not a characteristic of any Kasena rites associated with their shrines. Jenkins described the church as a "counterfeit church", and reported in 1980 that it was flourishing and causing confusion. They later reported that some of those who left the group referred to it as "the demon church".¹²⁵

A Catholic catechist likened the practices of the COLM to those of *sampwori* who also identify *chera*. He stated

Banto pworisi. Ba bere kolo na ke sɔɔ ne (They prophesied. They showed what happened in the house.) They spoilt many people. They were like *sampwori* and pointed out *chero*. They tied them and sat them on the ground. At first they even sat them on ant mounds.

The White Fathers described two movements of *sampwora* in 1915 and 1954. In some areas such as Kayoro-woro, *sampwora* still actively prophesy today. I questioned current members of the COLM about the events of the early years when people testified that COLM identified *chera* and people who were caught by *chera*. One member suggested that there were those who came who had a "witch spirit" and they would begin jumping, doing and saying things without consulting Madame Kawuru. He indicated there had been a failure to stop this behaviour in the church. He suggested that Kawuru should have driven out evil spirits as Paul did in Acts 16, through prayer and fasting. Madame Kawuru herself said she was aware that people referred to the COLM as "*chera Wε choɔa*". However, she said that this was "not in their eyes to see, as God's way is in our hearts."¹²⁶ She added, "I myself know that if it is *Baɔa Wε*'s work, if God selects you to work, you have to work." Brant stated that in his interview, Kawuru indicated that "she did not like to work with 'witches'. She didn't seem to work like other soothsayers."¹²⁷ The above statements reveal that Kawuru and members of the church believed that a person could have a spirit referred to as a "witch spirit". Kawuru wished to do God's work, but the involvement of "sumsum bia", most of whom had little knowledge of Scripture, led to interpretation of peoples' problems through the traditional framework of identification and resolution. Furthermore, Kawuru lost control of the "sumsum bia". Solutions offered brought division and ultimately resulted in people leaving the church.

c. "Cooling": the influence of Kasem Scriptures

The catechist concluded his summary of the COLM by stating, "Now however, they [COLM] have changed because they heard *Wε nia yam*¹²⁸ (God's commandments) and they have 'cooled'." This statement is revealing, for he indicates that the COLM in Chiana changed through hearing God's word in the Bible. A series of events

occurred at the beginning of the 1980s which contributed to this "cooling". The most significant event was the translation of the New Testament into Kasem. Philip and Judy Hower translated portions of the New Testament, including the Gospel of John and published them in the early 1980s.¹²⁹ The New Testament was published in 1988. At the same time, the Good News (GN) Churches began to grow in the western Kasena section and they placed great emphasis on using Kasem Scriptures.

Abadigao learned to read Kasem in the 1950s mass education programme and he began to read a copy of John's gospel in Kasem. He stated that was where he heard the Good News. He tried to use it to teach in the COLM, but they did not agree. "They did many things that showed we don't use God's power to work." As a result he left with a group of others and for about two years they met in his house and prayed. After two years meeting in their own house they contacted the GN church. "I saw these people [GN] are using the Bible and they read. If they want to reply you something, they open the Bible and reply you." He concluded there was truth in their place. For about five months in 1984, Francis Kupoe and other GN leaders taught them.¹³⁰ Abadigao and others tried again to use what they learned to teach in the COLM but it did not work. In 1987 he began a church at his house.¹³¹ In 1988 he contacted the GN leaders again and they taught them. The entire group who met in his house were formally incorporated into the GN church in 1988. Gabriel Ajongyere referred to in Chapter Four, learned to read Kasem and after reading Kasem Scriptures also concluded that COLM were not following God's word so he left and joined the RC church.¹³² At Katiu Adabania, some members left the COLM as a result of fear concerning a prophesy they been given and they sought counsel with the GN Saga church leader. Adamwoyei also became dissatisfied with the prophesy and disillusioned with no one ever coming to teach them.

The use of Scripture and the exodus of people from the COLM resulted in a greater desire amongst some people remaining in the COLM for teaching from Scripture. Kawuru's son Blankson returned in 1979 to help her in the work by reading Scripture, but he took further technical education from 1980 to 1985. He intended to

join the Navy and went south for the enlistment in 1986. However, on the day of enlistment he became ill with chicken pox. He interpreted his sickness spiritually as a sign that he should not enter the Navy but return home to help his mother build God's work as he knew she could not read the Bible. COLM members also appealed to the COLM leadership in Accra for a trained pastor.

In addition, reports had reached the south about the practice of identifying "witches" which the COLM disapproved of.¹³³ They responded to the appeal for a Pastor by sending Rev. Miriku to the north (Figure 23). Since his arrival in the north, he has not seen further evidence of this practice. Miriku explained that the churches had prophets, but they only prophesied and did not teach.¹³⁴ He acknowledged that none of the leaders had been to school. The COLM sent some such as Madame Vida south for four years to train in preaching. Madame Vida herself acknowledged her inability to read. She said they wanted to follow God's way properly but she was angry with her father for making her follow cattle and refusing to send her to school to learn to read.¹³⁵ Where COLM churches have prophets who cannot read, they attach "secretaries" to them who can read English or Kasem. In some cases this did not work well, as the "secretaries" were only interested in financial gain and left when they saw there was little to gain. The church leaders in the COLM pleaded for teaching and Blankson stated, "We only want the truth about God, otherwise we can't enter the Kingdom of heaven."¹³⁶ He believes that "illiteracy is a disease" and he blamed the inability of leaders to read Scripture for the resulting problems arising in the COLM. Therefore, the ability of some COLM members to read Kasem, resulted in a desire for "truth". They moved out of the church and influenced others to do so as well. This then led the COLM into this third phase in which leaders had a greater desire to study of Scripture.

(3) Good News Churches: the influence of family and friends in the spread of the gospel

Peter and Eileen Jenkins, from Australia, arrived in Chiana in November 1978¹³⁷ after SIM had earlier investigated working in northern Ghana.¹³⁸ SIM missionaries work with the Fellowship of Good News Churches of Ghana (GN) which are an association of autonomous churches. Although SIM missionaries were instrumental in the formation of Kasena GN churches, the most significant factors contributing to the growth and spread of the churches have been: Kasena communicating the gospel to family members and friends, cyclical migration to the south of Ghana and personal crises.

The Jenkins initially attempted to learn Kasem. By April 1979 a group of people met with the Jenkins in Chiana Asunia which met regularly every Sunday by mid 1979.¹³⁹ Some policemen and educated Kasena formerly associated with the RC church attended the group.

Akekodaga was born in Saga around 1930 (Figure 24).¹⁴⁰ As an adult he learned to read in the 1950s mass education programme and he then joined the RC church in Katiu because he thought "there is nothing bigger than God." He learned prayers, but did not know who Jesus was nor did he understand the RC church teaching. Akekodaga met Jenkins in Chiana and invited him to his house to teach him and his family. Jenkins began meetings at Akekodaga's house in late 1979. Akekodaga explained how he slowly understood that "God was every one's Saviour." He and his wife "made *wo-dedoa* (one stomach) and accepted God."¹⁴¹ He also learned that God's power was over all and that his previous drunkenness, chasing women, going to *vora* and *kaanem* "did not have meaning."¹⁴²

Akekodaga's wife Abamore was born in Katiu Saboro, the area where the PCG work began in the late 1950s.¹⁴³ She attended their meetings simply because she enjoyed the singing, but she did not understand the teaching. After hearing the



Figure 24. John Akekodaga and Lawrence Asuavere at a marriage ceremony at Saga Good News church.



Figure 25. Members of Saga Good News church. Theresa Yawiiiru (Anemana's daughter) seated with glasses on.

teaching from Jenkins, she stated, "we came and understood. It is really true, Jesus came and died because of our sins. It is not good for us to add anything to Jesus blood and *kaane*. We then made *wo-dedoa* (faith) in Jesus Christ." It was a short time after this that Akekodaga decided to remove his personal *jona* which still remained in his father's *sɔɔɔ*.¹⁴⁴ Some Christians had come from Kumasi and with Jenkins present they prayed and removed the *jona* and threw them away. Akekodaga's mother was deeply upset. However, when she saw he did not die, she stopped worrying. Initially some also left the church and numbers dropped, but people slowly began to return when they saw Akekodaga's crops did well.¹⁴⁵ The following year, Akekodaga's sister, Diana and her husband fled from political fighting in Burkina Faso. She remained at her father's house for safety.¹⁴⁶ Although she had been in the RC church, when she heard one missionary explain John 3:16, it "came into my heart and I decided in myself that today I will give myself to the Lord Jesus."

Although progress occurred at Saga, the group at Asunia showed little interest in forming their own church.¹⁴⁷ Jenkins' did not have a regular informant which hampered his language learning, so through the Chief he requested an interpreter. John Awulore was one who volunteered to translate for them. John came from Navrongo to teach in Chiana before Jenkins arrival in 1978.¹⁴⁸ Awulore said he began to learn about religion at school through RC teaching. He was a Christian, but he did not know the Bible and as he was interested to know the word of God, he offered to help.¹⁴⁹ Awulore confirmed that people in Asunia did not respond well. He explained that many who were more educated, came to the group for 2 to 3 weeks but stopped especially when they heard it was better for a Christian not to drink alcohol.

Beatrice Ajontera Awokunne became a member of the group.¹⁵⁰ She was born in Asunia in 1938 and was among the first pupils in the Chiana School. While at school she began attending the RC church, was baptised and attended church every Sunday, but she did not understand very much. She and her husband did not *kaane jona* for "it was only God". A dispute arose in the RC Church in Chiana and Madame Ajontera left. It was some time after the GN began in Chiana that a friend told her

about the missionary who came and GN, so one Sunday she went to listen. She decided to remain in the church because she found the teaching helped her to know how to care better for her family, and she learned that if she gave herself to God, he would forgive her sins and provide a place for her in the future.

In late 1980, a third group began at Chiana Kanania as a result of the visit of Francis and Anthony Kupoe.¹⁵¹ Both men are from the same house in Kanania. Francis Kupoe worked in Kumasi. In 1974, an Ashanti friend told Francis about "the saving grace of Christ", meaning that Christ could save him from his difficulties. Francis explained that he knew he "needed to receive Christ" for two reasons: "First I was a sickler, and I knew when I go to Christ, he would save me. Second, I knew that there was something wrong in my mind and heart. I didn't really have the peace that I needed to have." Francis added that after thinking about it, "I knew that Christ had the answer, so I committed my life to Christ." He became serious about his faith after his friend told him about an all night prayer meeting. Francis went to the meeting and a woman came out and prayed. Francis had faith that God would heal him of his sicknesses. After that his health improved. He also heard a message which refreshed him in his faith and he knew he was "born again". "I actually experienced real, dramatic change inside and began to feel the hope that I would be going to heaven."

God began to bring Francis confidence to tell others about Jesus Christ. He felt God was calling him to serve him and he was aware of a need amongst his own people in the north because there had been so little impact from the gospel. He thought about going back north, but was hesitant because he did not feel equipped for this. Francis met Charles Anderson, a missionary with SIM, who told him that SIM was trying to reach the Kasena in his home area and he "began to challenge him [Francis] about the need among his own people."¹⁵² This encouraged Francis to seriously consider returning and Francis visited the Kasena area in 1978. In 1980 he resigned from his work and joined Campus Crusade¹⁵³ in Kumasi. From December 1980 until February 1981, he and his brother Anthony visited Kanania. The desire to

work in the north was confirmed to Francis, but he felt he needed more Biblical teaching so he attended Maranatha Bible College (MBC) in Accra for 6 months in 1981 before returning to Chiana in January 1982.¹⁵⁴

Anthony Kupoe first learned about *We choŋa* at the Chiana school.¹⁵⁵ He was taught by the RC catechist, Lucien Adayira. Initially Anthony attended church regularly and was baptised in 1963. After finishing school he travelled south. He attended church spasmodically and had a serious problem with drunkenness. Francis Kupoe wrote a number of times to Anthony telling him how he became a Christian and giving him Bible verses to read, but Anthony ignored it. Francis also met him and talked with him. In 1979, Anthony became overwhelmed with his responsibilities for family and his now expectant wife so he decided to take his life. However, Anthony met a student, Moses Buamah, from MBC who asked him whether he "knew Christ".¹⁵⁶ Anthony explained he was in the RC Church, but Moses "asked me to ask the Lord to come into my life." They prayed together. Anthony realized that what Moses told him was different from what he learned previously. He stated "I really saw that things completely changed in my life." He studied at MBC for three months and began to work amongst Kasena in the Nima area.¹⁵⁷

After hearing about the work beginning among the Kasena, Anthony visited Chiana with Francis in December 1980. They spoke to people in Kanania, including Sylvester Ayimini and told him that they wanted him to hear God's word.¹⁵⁸ Sylvester then told two friends, George Atauwone and George Adia and they talked to a number of people in the area about the church. They began to meet under a fig tree. The Kupoes' asked Jenkins to show a film at Kanania. Anthony stated that "many people came to receive the Lord Jesus Christ, so we started a church there."

Thomas Abugah started attending the Kanania church in 1980 and continued to do so when he came home in school holidays.¹⁵⁹ Although he learned a little of God's way at school, he had no interest in it. For about four years, Francis Kupoe sent him tracts from Kumasi and wrote to him explaining Christian beliefs. When

Jenkins came to Kanania, Thomas listened to his message. He explained: "They talked about Jesus being the source of salvation and his death on the cross because of his love. I decided to commit my life to Christ." After completing school in 1981, Thomas had the opportunity to enter the military. However, after much prayer, he decided to study at MBC. His family were deeply disappointed and felt he was letting them down by going into something which had no financial future. After completing at MBC he returned to the north and assisted in leading churches.¹⁶⁰

Three of the first women in the Kanania church began to follow *Wε choga* because God helped them in their problems including sickness. Abulimi became very ill while in the south with her husband and then one of her children died.¹⁶¹ As a result she went to a church. They told her to give herself to God and she would be helped. She did this and her sickness improved. When she returned to Kanania, there was no church in the area, but when Madame Kawuru came she attend her church at Kalivio. After Francis arrived and told her they wanted to start a church near her house, she and her children then began attending the GN church. Kawia first heard about the church when a group came to her husband, the Kanania chief to ask his permission to meet under a fig tree.¹⁶² She began to attend but dreams disturbed her deeply and then she became ill. The Christians in the church came and prayed for her and she was healed. After she heard God's word, her dreams ceased to disturb her and she knew God's power and continued to attend the church.

When Madame Kawuru first came to Chiana, Babweri was ill so she went to Gugoro and received some healing.¹⁶³ However, she left when things became "mixed up". Then her husband's senior brother went to consult a *voro* in Abulu and he died there. She decided if someone following *jona* died in that way, it meant that the *jona* did not care for their own child. At that time Francis and Sylvester spoke to her about God and helped her to understand God's way so she decided to go to church. The day she first went to church, she was ill and her house people wanted to get *liri* for her, but she refused. The Christians prayed for her and also gave her some leaves off a tree to pound and cook and she was healed.

After Francis and Anna Kupoe moved to Chiana in January 1982, Francis visited and taught Kasena about Jesus Christ across the western section of the Kasena-Nankana area. Initially, he had difficulty communicating clearly with people, even though Kasem is his mother tongue. He intermingled Twi with Kasem because he was used to communicating in Twi and he found Kasem difficult to read. Francis also found some cultural issues difficult. He stated,

Receiving Christ here and receiving Christ down south, are two different things. Down south you can simply accept Christ and you will go to Bible studies ... , but here to accept Christ means a lot because you don't know how best to help someone really to continue to grow. Even though I knew things, how to communicate them in Kasem was a problem.

By 1992, the GN churches had spread from Saga (Figure 25), Asunia and Kanania to the Chiana sections of Nyangania (1983), Kalivio (1983), Abulu (1984), Adasong (1984), Gugoro (1988), and Yidania (1990). Two churches existed in Kayoro and one in Nakong. Of the 76 people interviewed who were affiliated with the GN, approximately 43 percent indicated their initial conversion was related to a healing experience. Another 36 percent gave their initial reasons as either because they realised "God created them, God's way is better, God's power is great, God is good", or they "repented of sin, made *wo-dedoa* and agreed with Jesus." These people also referred to Scripture they learned. A couple of people stressed that they learned about an afterlife with God. More than 50 percent had been previously associated with RC, COLM or PCG churches. Over half of those who changed church, did so because of what they heard taught in the GN churches.

During the first two years the Jenkins were in Chiana, they taught Religious Instruction extensively in all the schools in the western section as well as responding to requests for teaching. When groups began to meet, services were organized which commenced with a "Sunday school". This theoretically was for children, but in reality anyone who was present listened. Jenkins encouraged literacy and the reading of Scriptures in Kasem.¹⁶⁴ In October 1980, he provided groups with handwind cassette players with recorded Gospel messages in Kasem and Kasena music.¹⁶⁵ He also made

use of films on the life of Christ, film-strips on Biblical stories and African stories with Biblical themes. The impact of the filmstrips is particularly illustrated in the founding of the Adasong church.

During the latter part of 1984, Anthony Kupoe began to communicate God's message to some men from his *nabera* house at Adasong.¹⁶⁶ Raymond Achemba Ali and his brother Francis Aniba initially took little notice. Anthony visited Adasong and told them he would return with Jenkins to show "cinema". In October 1984, Jenkins and Anthony went to Adasong and showed a film strip based on a story about a wall dividing God from people.¹⁶⁷ Raymond explained that what "knocked" his heart about the big wall between God and man, was that he had never realised he was a sinner and that he had "to accept the Lord so that he will clean my sins away." Raymond added "after preaching they said all those who are ready to give their lives to Christ should come. The whole group accepted. It was wonderful, the whole group accepted and gave our life to Christ." The group grew and members were involved in literacy and establishing groups in the clan-settlements of Adognia and Wurunia.

Although Jenkins preached at services, he never led services, but always insisted on Christians themselves organising and running their own services.¹⁶⁸ During services Kasena instruments were used and certain types of Kasena dance accepted. They also urged Kasena to compose their own songs to reflect their Christian experience. In October 1981, they wrote of a song composed by a woman at Kanania which stated "Satan came to deceive us, and is trying to destroy the world, but our Saviour felt compassion, and now people are being saved by the Lord."¹⁶⁹ When each group selected representatives, Jenkins and the Kupoe's trained them in leadership as well as discussing cultural issues and church policy.¹⁷⁰ Jenkins initially guided the teaching content for baptismal preparation. However, he never baptised anyone himself as he always emphasized that was the responsibility of the Ghanaian church leadership (Figure 26). In 1982, Howard Brant initiated a Bible training course in the dry season. After 1983, GN churches organised and ran them in vernacular language groups.¹⁷¹ In May 1984, Jenkins commenced "Theological Education by Extension"



Figure 26. Baptism of Good News church members.

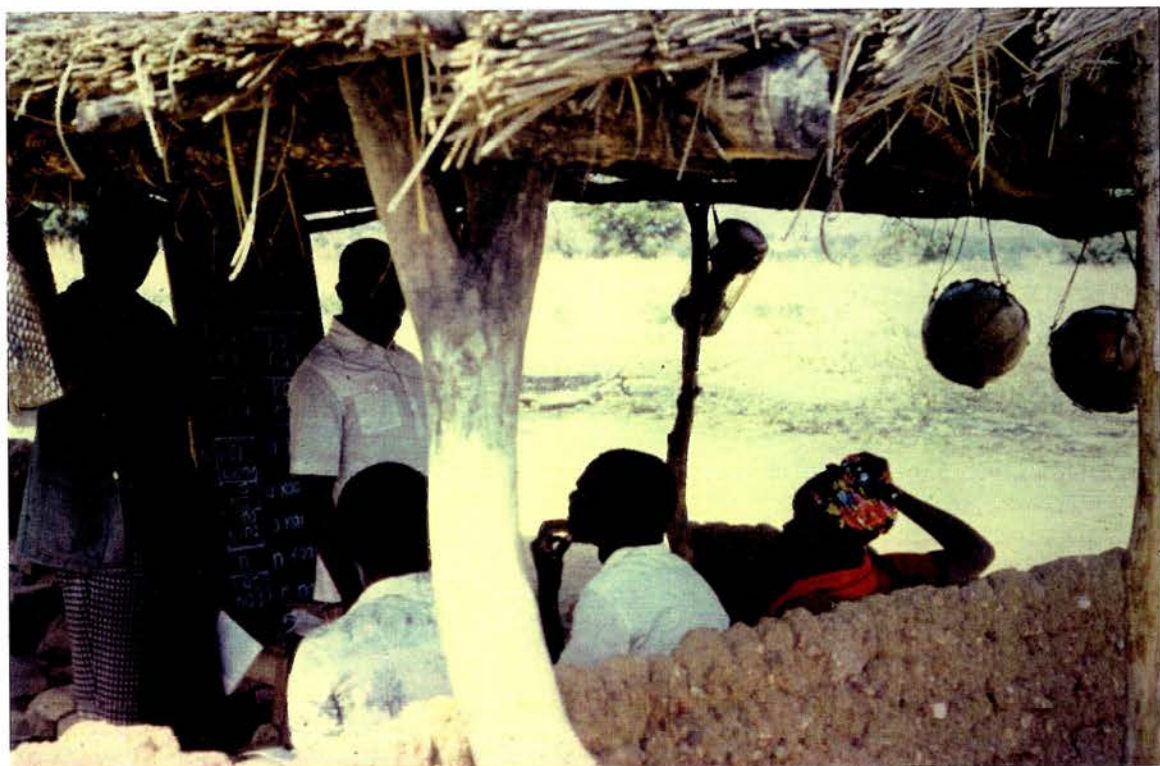


Figure 27. Literacy class at Nyangania Good News church.

(TEE) with 18 students in Nyangania, Kalivio and Saga.¹⁷² This was then carried on by GN church leaders. Jenkins left Ghana in 1988.¹⁷³

Although the Jenkins initiated many programmes they acknowledged their own inadequacy at communicating in Kasem and the significance of Kasena Christians who understood the Gospel in communicating the message. In 1982, Jenkins wrote, Francis "has been visiting each area to teach, and it is wonderful to have someone who really understands the Message to help us. We know the believers are hearing the Word clearly now."¹⁷⁴ The role of Francis and Anthony Kupoe and Thomas Abugah in the growth of the GN churches was critical and is reflected in a comment made by a Christian who contrasted the beginnings of the PCG and GN churches.

Look at Francis, Anthony and Thomas. They helped us to understand what you [missionaries] were teaching. If it was Peter alone who came, he didn't understand our language, we would have understood the Word of God, but it would take a long time ... They [Kasena] read and talked many things in Kasem, so that we really understood God's way quickly.

The three men above had a critical function in guiding the growth of churches, but GN members also revealed that family and friends played a key role in communicating *Wε choŋa*. Babweri, at Kanania invited her relative, Apemusa from Nyangania who was badly disfigured by leprosy, to come to the church because she thought it could help her.¹⁷⁵ Babweri told her how God's word did not distinguish between people and God loved her.¹⁷⁶ She also told her if she "made *wo-dedoa*" and died, she would go to heaven. Apemusa came to Kanania and gave herself to God because she knew that if she died she would go to God's place.¹⁷⁷ She then told her brother, Bada, and another brother's son James Ayizae at Nyangania about what she heard at Kanania.¹⁷⁸ Both men were attending the COLM.¹⁷⁹

Shortly after Apemusa told James and Bada about the GN at Kanania, Anthony and Francis Kupoe visited them because Anthony's mother's sister had married one of Bada's brothers.¹⁸⁰ They asked James and Bada what the COLM taught about Jesus and the Holy Spirit. James told them some of the things. As James could read a

little, the Kupoes suggested he read from Acts about how the Holy Spirit worked. James stated "I saw how COLM was teaching the Holy Spirit and it wasn't how God's word taught." When the men attended the Kanania church, James learned that "if you made *wo-dedoa* with Jesus, you and God reconcile and God will save you and your life. It follows that when you die, there is a way for you to go to be with God." Bada discovered that "Jesus is the Saviour because of my sin and when I agree and follow how his commands teach then I can become God's worker. ... If the Holy Spirit is in you, he does not let you work uselessly." They invited Francis to teach them at Nyangania and in January 1983 the church opened.¹⁸¹ A number of others followed James and Bada out of the COLM and joined the GN, including Matthew Asung at Nyangania Gania. Asung not only influenced his own family, but he visited others in Gania and played them recorded messages on cassette so people could hear.¹⁸²

In Kayoro, Asalanyina heard about Jenkins through his own daughter who was married into Kupoe's house at Kanania.¹⁸³ She informed John Akekodaga and he with another church leader visited Asalanyina several times.¹⁸⁴ The church leaders took Jenkins to Kayoro-woro in 1981 and Jenkins reported that Asalanyina believed in 1982.¹⁸⁵ Ayijong related how Jenkins taught them about God's word. She stated "We gave our *wo-dedoa* to God."¹⁸⁶ Their conversion experience began however with the healing of their child in the Sandema PCG clinic in the early 1970s for Ayijong stated that if they had not put their *wo-dedoa* in God, they themselves could not have healed their child. In July 1986, Asalanyina and his wife were baptised in Kayoro. Two months later, Asalanyina invited a large group of church leaders and the Jenkins into Kayoro-woro, to witness the destruction of his *liri* and *jona*.¹⁸⁷ The *liri* included two small bowls of *lira* used to protect his children from being caught by *chera*; bark used to burn at night for protection from insomnia caused by *chera*; *lira* used to protect him from someone in a crowd trying to catch him; and *kwara* to protect his cattle from being stolen. He reported that day, that the very year he acquired the *kwara* to prevent his cattle being stolen, more of his cattle were stolen than ever. Asalanyina also gave up his position as *nakwia tu* for his clan-settlement. Asalanyina was not afraid to share his faith and in 1987 visited Mama Awotunjeli, the *kwara tu* for

Kayoro to tell him about Christ.¹⁸⁸ Although Asalanyina died in 1990, the small group at Kayoro-woro has continued to exist, but the lack of regular contact with other Christians often discourages them.

The influence of friends is illustrated in the foundation of Kalivio and Abulu churches. A friend invited George Abanine, a teacher, to the Kanania church.¹⁸⁹ Francis Kupoe advised him to attend church, but he complained of the distance from his home area, Kalivio. The Kupoes encouraged him find a place in Kalivio where they could meet people. Abanine discussed the matter with Lawrence Asuavere and Kwesi Anyinasong.¹⁹⁰ Asuavere hesitated because he attended the RC church in Asunia as a result of the influence of his relative Kopedima.¹⁹¹ Kopedima, from Asunia, moved into Asuavere's *sɔɔɔ* to avoid the problems he faced as a Christian in his own family house (page 158). Asuavere began hearing God's word and he enjoyed it so much that he continued to go to Asunia even after Kopedima moved back to Asunia.¹⁹² Asuavere then related why he changed his mind about beginning a church in Kalivio.

God spoke to me one night that 'you have been going to the Roman Church at Asunia. You want things to be good outside and the thing which wants to happen at your gate entrance or among your *nubia* (relatives), you don't want to happen. Is that it? You have been going to Asunia, how many people have you taken to Asunia so that their soul saw salvation or help?' I didn't send anyone.

Asuavere concluded that he should agree that they open a church so that people could be saved in Kalivio as well. They asked Francis and Anthony to teach them.¹⁹³ What impressed Asuavere was that "they let us learn the Bible because it has teaching and we heard many things in God's word." Asuavere had originally learned to read Kasem in the mass education programme in 1957.

In January 1984, Kofi Akiati, from Abulu attended a film show at Nyangania GN church and he gave himself to God.¹⁹⁴ He and friends, Kwame Aduriwo and George Babadwe attended Nyangania GN church and their literacy classes (Figure 27). They asked if a group could open in Abulu. James Ayizae and Stephen Bada visited houses in Abulu playing recorded messages on a cassette player. Kwame Apetega

heard these messages.¹⁹⁵ He had been attending the COLM at Abulu, having joined COLM in 1977. He saw crowds going there and heard that Kawuru healed the sick. When he went he saw people healed, his own sickness ceased and he immensely enjoyed the meetings. However, after listening to the messages his friends played, he attended the GN church. Kwame realised through the teaching that he had gone to the COLM "for his body" and pure enjoyment, and he had not realised that there was life that would not end. He now understood that he was born in "Setaane's" hand and that he had to give himself back to God, so that at death he would go to heaven.¹⁹⁶

People have left the GN churches. Some Christians moved south for work.¹⁹⁷ Fourteen of those interviewed had stopped attending GN. Their reasons included: the responsibilities as senior woman for funerals in the *sɔŋɔ*; insults from others; poverty; too much work, especially for widows; friends stopped going; disputes; father prevented his son from attending; becoming househead; the rigidity of the "*wadɛ*", especially relating to the issue of alcohol.

The active participation of many Kasena in communicating the gospel, in teaching Scripture and in stressing that people read God's word resulted in the rapid growth of GN churches. Christians even wanted to go to areas outside the western section, but lacked funds to help them do this. Anthony and Francis Kupoe therefore initiated the formation of the "Fellowship of Good News Churches Mission Organization" (M.O.)¹⁹⁸ in July 1983. The M.O. had three goals: to help bring unity among the GN churches in the Upper Regions; to enable them to raise money so people who wanted to tell the gospel in other places could go as resident missionaries and be financially supported;¹⁹⁹ and, to begin a Bible School for training people.²⁰⁰ The first and last goals have been realised. The church struggled with raising finance, but this did not prevent communication of the gospel.

(4) Significance of Kasem Scriptures in conversion and the religious itinerary.

The fourth event which occurred in this phase relates to the publishing of Kasem Scriptures. When the Kasem Scriptures began to be made available, men such as Paul Abadigao, Lawrence Asuavere and John Akekodaga, whom the RC church had 20 years previously taught the basics of reading Kasem to in the mass education programme, now took hold of Kasem Scriptures. They were empowered to make decisions about what happened in the church and they acted in accordance with what they believed Scripture revealed to them. This subsequently affected both the GN and COLM and initiated a desire within the COLM to study the word of God.

Darrell Whiteman explores the contribution of Bible translation to people's social and cultural development. He argues that "Wherever Bible translation enables and empowers people to address and meet the six basic human needs [physical, social, self-esteem, purpose, security, spiritual], then it facilitates integral human development."²⁰¹ Whiteman admits that simply translating Scripture into the vernacular is not a sufficient condition to promote integral human development. Translation is a powerful catalyst, however, if it occurs concurrently with other factors.²⁰² Whiteman lists the areas in which he believes there is a positive correlation between vernacular Scriptures and development. These include: self-respect and dignity; expansion of a people's world; literacy; and new sense of identity. He gives a number of examples to support his argument for correlation in each of these areas, but he admits that more research into other examples is required to substantiate the connection. The Kasena story provides some evidence of a positive correlation between Kasem Scriptures and social development in a number of areas.

For a people whose history has been dominated by exploitation, slave raiding, coping with colonial and southern attitudes that northerners merely have a role of servitude, the availability of Kasem Scriptures has contributed to a growth in self-respect, dignity and a new sense of identity. God speaks to Kasena in Kasem. A Kasena can learn to read or hear Kasem Scripture, taught by Kasena and consequently

make decisions based on their interpretations of Scripture. At a "Day of prayer and fasting" by the GN churches, I observed Francis Kupoe lead 51 women and 48 men in a Bible Study.²⁰³ Speaking only in Kasem, he asked who had Bibles. Nearly all the men and about half the women raised their hands. Most of them had Kasem New Testaments. Kupoe asked a woman to read 1 John 1:1-4 in Kasem. He then questioned people about the meaning of the passage. For two hours they interactively explored eight passages of Scripture and discussed what God was saying to them. As Kwame Bediako observes, "African Christians, with access to the Bible in mother-tongues, can truly claim to hear God speaking to them in their own language. It amounts to the realisation that *God speaks our language too*."²⁰⁴ This interaction with the Kasem Scripture has expanded the Kasena world perspective, taken Christians beyond their narrow sense of identity and brought them into new relationships with Christians in other parts of Ghana and the world. This confirms Whiteman's claim that people make the vernacular Scriptures their own.

It becomes their book, not simply the book of the dominant culture that introduced it to them, and this enables them to understand it in their own terms. ... the Bible introduces them to the activities of God in a much wider world both geographically and historically.²⁰⁵

Although literacy programmes were implemented in the 1950s, the availability of the Kasem Scriptures combined with memorising Scripture provided an enormous incentive for people to learn to read, particularly in the western section. This has also extended into writing in Kasem. During my fieldwork a number of church leaders who speak little English and had learnt to read and write Kasem only in the previous few years, wrote down problems and issues for this research in Kasem. One church leader has recently written Kasem questions on his teaching, and some church members are writing their answers to the questions in Kasem.²⁰⁶ In 1992, 120 literacy groups functioned in the western zone of the Kasena-Nankana District.²⁰⁷ Twelve out of the 14 supervisors were affiliated with churches. Many participants are progressing from literacy in Kasem to literacy in English.

Kasem Scriptures combined with literacy have empowered and provided

women with a new sense of identity. Women who have never been to school are motivated through their conversion to learn to read Kasem and now lead groups. The availability of Kasem Scriptures has also contributed to meeting peoples' physical needs. It has enabled some Christians to read for themselves that God does not automatically heal all sickness, but he does provide his grace to cope. Christians express in Kasem songs their interpretation of Scriptures which give them new understanding about coping with their problems. Matthew 6:25,26 is interpreted in this manner:

<i>Nabiina bam ye ta lwia yo,</i>	People do not again be anxious,
<i>Wε jege dam (sono) mo, (rep)</i>	God has strength (or love),
<i>se Wε wo ke zuna karaga</i>	God did not make the birds farm
<i>pa ba noŋ ba vea ba vara</i>	so they go and farm,
<i>Bachaggau kara wo yei mo pa ko zega?</i>	Where is the crows bush-farm standing?
<i>Ko pae ko tera.²⁰⁸</i>	It is not there.

Another song is based on Matthew 11:28.

<i>N na zeŋ zila yaduna,</i>	If you carry heavy things,
<i>ja m ba amo tei ne se n ja zurim</i>	come to my place so you hold coolness,
<i>Yezu we n na zeŋ zila yaduna,</i>	Jesus said, if you carry heavy loads,
<i>se n ja m ba amo tei ne,</i>	so that you come to my place
<i>se n ja a zurim.²⁰⁹</i>	and you hold coolness.

The Kasem Scriptures have also addressed areas of spiritual need which the Kasem catechism does not refer to. Kasem terms for their spirit realm are used in the New Testament. For example *chichiri* (spirit) appears at least 94 times.²¹⁰ This has helped Kasena to address areas where fear tended to dominate their lives.

Whiteman warns that Bible translation can result in the use of the Bible "as a fetish instead of understanding it as the Word of God. In such instances the Bible as a material artifact is used to bring good fortune, to ward off disease and illness or is used as a good luck charm."²¹¹ This use of the Bible is not limited to translated Scriptures for in the early days of the COLM English Bibles were used as a power element without the leader using it even being able to speak or read English. Moreover, Whiteman assumes that such a use of the Bible is a "fetish" practice. He does not assess whether people using the Bible as a material artifact have re-interpreted the source of power.

There is evidence that vernacular Scriptures are contributing to Kasena development in the four areas Whiteman listed, but currently this is largely limited to the churches which promote the reading of Kasem scriptures. The full potential of the Kasem Scriptures will only become evident if wider usage occurs. Further research into the correlation between translation and development is necessary among the Kasena. Lamin Sanneh contends that Christianity in Africa is weakest where there is reliance on dominant lingua francas and vernacular use is not strong, but it is strongest where vernacular Scriptures exist.²¹² Bediako makes a similar point. He comments that possessing Christian Scriptures in African languages is the most important element of the Western missionary legacy for it "ensured that a deep and authentic dialogue would ensue between the Gospel and African tradition, authentic in so far as it would take place, not in terms of a foreign language or of an alien culture, but in the categories of local idioms and world-views."²¹³ According to Lamin Sanneh, translation in the missionary task proceeded on the notion that "local languages, whatever their social status, could serve as adequate bearers of the divine revelation...."²¹⁴ He adds that the "import of this was to imbue local cultures with an eternal significance and to endow African languages with a transcendent range."

4. New movements to tell Kasena about the Christian Gospel: 1985 to 1992

Since 1985, changes in the Kasena Christian religious itinerary have again occurred. The change is related to the growth of new churches in the northern Kasena area, particularly Navrongo (Appendix 6), and emphasis being placed on evangelising northern Ghanaians in the south of Ghana.

(1) Kasena Churches at the end of the 1980s - Upper East and Northern Regions

In 1983, shortly before Pastor Kaba died, Pastor Joseph Naa Sapio, came with his wife and children from Pong-Tamale to Navrongo to assist Pastor Kaba.²¹⁵ Joseph Sapio's story begins with his father, Sapio, who walked with his parents from Navrongo-Noghsenia to Pong-Tamale in the late 1930s as a result of a poor harvest

and famine.²¹⁶ About the same time, Chana Alogova left Chiana Gwenia "to see the world" but he settled in Pong-Tamale. Alogova's daughter, Rebecca, met a Pastor Tiga Ouederaogo who told her that when you follow God you will see life which has no end.²¹⁷ She decided to walk in that way and began attending the AOG Church. Sapio also decided to "accept God" after learning that only God saves people; that Jesus came, died and poured out his blood, and that if a person accepts him, they will have life. He met Rebecca at the AOG church and married her. Their eldest son Joseph developed an interest in God through attending Sunday School. His mother often told him that one day he would "do the work of God". He worked in a number of jobs before God "laid it on my heart to go into the ministry". After completing Bible College in 1982, the missionary in charge wanted Joseph to work in the south, but Joseph believed he should go to Navrongo to reach his own people. Sapio's first years in Navrongo were difficult as there were only about 15 members in the AOG church, but his wife encouraged him to stay. By the late 1980s, the Navrongo church grew significantly and by 1992 they had commenced meetings in the southern part of Navrongo and in Nakong.²¹⁸

The Paga and Paga-Buru AOG churches struggled on until Pastor Jonah Kwotua came to Paga in 1991. He found that people in Paga-Buru still regarded the church as "Alagesam's God".²¹⁹ He stated, "they don't know that it is not the evil god that was following Alagesam, but Jesus with loving arms to embrace every person."

The Church of Pentecost has grown from a membership of 41 in 1986 to more than 100 attending church in 1992, the majority of whom were Kasena. The services are in Kasem and Twi.²²⁰ The CP commenced new churches at Paga (1985), Gean (1987) and then at Kayoro (1989) and Chiana (1990) in the western section.²²¹ Evans Alhassan initiated the Kayoro CP church after his return from the south. He was born in Kumasi, but his father who was from Katiu sent him to Chiana for some schooling.²²² He returned south and in 1982 a friend invited him to a CP rally at Santase. Although Evans did not understand much Twi, nor did he really know what he was doing, he went forward for prayer. He stated "I repented and I accepted Christ

as my Saviour." In 1988, Evans returned to live in his mother's father's house at Kayoro. Some members of his house attended the Kayoro Good News (GN) church and initially he joined them. Through prayer the Lord spoke to him and told him to preach, so he started "dawn broadcasting".²²³ The CP advised him to start a CP church, so the group, although already small separated and built there own shelter about 100 metres from the GN group. Two women interviewed related how God healed them of their sickness and so they wanted to follow *We choŋa*.²²⁴ Alwenawora told me all her life her family wasted her fowls and animals in *kaanem* trying to heal her leprosy.²²⁵ Some people told her that old women and people with leprosy were not wanted in the church, but Evans explained that God needed everyone. As a result of attending church, she decided to abandon the *jona* because they were useless and to only call God's name. Initially many people responded, but by January 1992, between 6 to 8 women and children attended the church.

Good News churches have continued to be very active in the western section. In 1992, they sent teams of Kasena into four areas to visit houses and talk about Christ. Four new groups were founded. In contrast the Presbyterian churches have struggled to exist, although individuals such as Robert Wekem have sought to continue to follow God. Wekem asked Evangelist Collins Adegme in 1983 if he could join "in doing the God's work". He walked everywhere on foot and received no remuneration. People in the community ridiculed him for doing God's work without pay, but he persevered. The PCG trained Wekem and sent him back to Chiana where he worked until 1989. He found that people did not understand "what the church really meant and what Christianity should be [about]."²²⁶ During 1992 new growth in the Chiana Gwenia PCG was evident.

The United Church in Navrongo no longer exists as such. In 1979 Ewe speakers who wished to use their own language broke away from the United Church and formed an Evangelical Presbyterian church.²²⁷ Only two Kasena women attended the EP church in 1992. During 1982, most of the Methodist membership formed a Methodist congregation.²²⁸ The United Church thus became a PCG church. Some

Kasena have recently begun to attend this church, but at least 80 percent of those attending the Navrongo PCG in 1992 were from the south.²²⁹

In 1987 the GEC Survey listed 10 churches in Navrongo with 9.04 percent of the Navrongo population attending church.²³⁰ By 1992 there were at least 15 churches in Navrongo. Not all the details of every church are known.²³¹ One factor is evident: there has been a movement of people from the RC church into some of these newer groups. A woman transferred from the south to work in Navrongo. Her son, Clifford Bediako, visited Navrongo and after being trained by the Church of Christ, he returned to Navrongo and started the Church of Christ in 1985.²³² At least 200 have been baptised, but only 25 to 30 adults attended the church in 1992. About 90 percent of their members are former Roman Catholics. A similar movement is occurring into the Broken Yoke Foundation. This group originated in Bolgatanga in 1987 mainly through Eastwood Anaba and members of the Bolgatanga Scripture Union group. The church grew rapidly and in 1990 a church began in Navrongo.²³³ Great emphasis is placed on a Christian "becoming like Christ" and on living a "holy life". Christians are asked to make a radical break with their past. Many are attracted to the church because of their healing and deliverance Crusades (Appendix 7). Amongst many of the more recently formed groups, English is the main language of communication and this then restricts the membership to educated Kasena, Nankana and people of other groups working in the town.

Today the Kasena still form a majority in the Walewale AOG church. There are also large numbers of Kasena in the Walewale RC Church and in the PCG.²³⁴ In 1987, a GEC Survey identified 1,065 Kasena in the Northern Region who attended church.²³⁵ Of these, 581 were in the Mamprusi District and 248 were listed as Protestant. It is probable that between 10 and 11 percent of the AOG church in Mamprusi are of Kasena origin.

(2) Kasena response to the Gospel in the south of Ghana

In spite of the numbers of Kasena migrating to and from the south of Ghana, the churches in the south had little impact on most Kasena. A number of Kasena stated in interviews that they had not attended or had left southern churches because they did not adequately understand the language or did not feel welcome. However, we have seen how in the COLM and GN churches, Kasena who began to follow *Wε choga* in the south of Ghana have played a significant part in the conversion of others in the north. Of the Kasena interviewed in Accra, there is evidence of a pattern occurring in reasons why people want to follow *Wε choga*, but it needs further verification. Those affiliated with GN churches wanted to follow *Wε choga* because they discovered something new about God's salvation, way or power and this was linked with learning to read the Kasem Scriptures. In AOG and CP churches, their reasons related to God's power being shown through healing or overcoming problems such as drunkenness. In addition, two men had been in the RC church, but were "born again" in the south.

This is what George Borla experienced in Accra in 1979.²³⁶ As a child he had been given to a *de* (python) *joni*. Borla had learned the catechism at school and called himself a Catholic although he had never been baptised. He travelled to Accra and his *de joni* "followed" him there.²³⁷ Many Christians spoke God's word to George with little effect until one night he dreamt he saw Christ standing in front of him with open arms and George then embraced him. It disturbed Borla so he found a CP church. However, he did not feel welcome and they only spoke Twi which he did not understand, so he left. He then attended a Kusasi speaking AOG church at Adabraka and someone interpreted into English for him. Through what they told him, he became a Christian and through prayer and fasting he overcame a major problem he had with drunkenness. In contrast to George, his wife, Dorcas Togechem, began following *Wε choga* in Navrongo.²³⁸ Her father "accepted God" as a result of his friend John Atongba being healed from mental illness and he took Dorcas to church. Dorcas grew up under Pastor Kaba's ministry.

Lawrence Lerewanu's father came from Manyoro, but moved around Ghana because of his work.²³⁹ Lerewanu was baptised in the RC church. However, it was not until his entry into University that he first heard people talk about being "born again". In 1981, he attended "Mission 81" at the university and "prayed to accept the Lord." He joined a Pentecostal Assembly, but some of his northern friends criticised him and told him "this born again thing and Pentecostalism is for southerners. ... we northerners are Catholics." However, Lerewanu continued to attend there. He increasingly felt that "we northerners are so terribly left behind. Most of us have not heard the Gospel message." While teaching in Accra, Lerewanu met Ross Campbell who worked with the GEC. Campbell suggested that he work amongst northerners in Accra rather than going to the north.

The GEC surveyed church growth and attendance throughout Ghana in 1986 and 1987.²⁴⁰ They indicated that 2,020,700 (18%) people in the seven southern regions were of Northern and West African ethnic origin.²⁴¹ At the time of the survey, an estimated 1,402 northern or alien people (less than one percent) attended church in Accra. The survey noted that Catholic churches acknowledged the identity of northern people and provided separate seating for them in services as well as social associations. The only Kasem speaking church was a GN church in Abeka, founded by a Nigerian missionary, Kantiyok Tukura, in 1978.²⁴² In October 1988, GEC asked Lerewanu to work as their Urban Mission Director and he became actively involved in communicating the Gospel to northerners and motivating churches to do likewise.

The GEC argued strongly for establishment of monoethnic congregations.²⁴³ The report stated, "Northerners have refused to respond to a message that depends on their giving up their culture for a southern culture." At a conference in 1989, GEC urged people to reach northern people in the south. This conference stimulated Anthony Kupoe and he discovered Kasena in three zongos in Suhum District of the Eastern Region. By August 1989 he started a literacy programme.²⁴⁴ Several Kasena related to me how they joined the GN in Suhum because they understood little Twi and the GN taught them in Kasem. In 1988, George Borla started a new work in

Nima for northerners.²⁴⁵ Lerewanu suggested they introduce literacy as a means of encouraging people to come. However, the AOG church insisted on holding a "Crusade". This was unsuccessful. Borla stated , "Northerners don't come for crusades. We go from house to house." Finally, in August 1990, Borla and Lerewanu established a Kasem speaking group with 5 people in Nima. By May 1992, 57 Kasena adults were attending the service.

In early February 1990, Kasem literacy commenced in Accra Anumle.²⁴⁶ At first only men attended the Saturday and Sunday afternoon sessions. After showing the "Jesus" film based on the Gospel of Luke, Lerewanu invited Kasena to come to church. By August 1990 a church commenced. It was linked with a southern CP church. Lerewanu became ill and the CP began to run services in Twi. This discouraged Kasena and many stopped attending. Lawrence invited Patrick Aseyoro a Kasena Christian from the AOG in Paga-Buru to help the group and people returned to the group. In 1990 Thomas Abugah transferred to the south of Ghana to encourage the existing GN northern churches and to begin working amongst Kasem speakers in the Eastern Region, Tema and Accra.

By 1990, the GEC reported that in the previous 12 months 17 northern congregations were established through mother tongue literacy programmes and another 18 literacy classes were potential churches.²⁴⁷ They argued that traditional methods of evangelism had failed and that mother tongue literacy was "proving to be an effective way of breaking down barrier (sic) of prejudice, meeting real needs and bringing the gospel to communities of northern peoples in southern Ghana." Some churches have also been concerned to provide skills training for northern Ghanaians to help them overcome problems of unemployment and have established venues in Accra to enable this to occur. By 1993 six Kasena churches existed in Accra.²⁴⁸

The GEC encouraged southern Christians and churches to communicate the Gospel to ethnic groups in northern Ghana even though church planting growth during the previous 10 years in the north was well above the national average (106%

compared with 74%).²⁴⁹ The results of the GEC attempts to motivate church growth amongst northern people in the north and south of Ghana are now becoming apparent as new groups commence. The lasting benefit of this growth will only be measured during the next two or three decades. In the desire, particularly amongst protestant churches, to see growth, the main emphasis has been on numbers of church attendance and growth rates. Questions need to be asked concerning the nature of this growth. When a new group starts in the next classroom or compound to an already existent church (this may even be an evangelical group next to another evangelical group or a pentecostal group next to another pentecostal group) instead of searching out areas where there are no churches then what is the motivation of this establishment? The churches in the Kasena area increased from 50 in 1988 to 62 by 1991-92.²⁵⁰ However, the survey update found that little effort had been made to begin new churches in unreached communities.²⁵¹ Most were started in towns and cities where churches already existed. Furthermore, the numerical emphasis gives no evidence of the qualitative impact of the Gospel message in the lives of those attending churches. Has Christ been perceived as belonging as much to the daily life of Christians as to the physical attendance at church on a Sunday?

5. Conclusion

Three phases are evident in Kasena conversion and their religious itinerary between the 1950s and 1992.

- (1) The entry of Protestant churches: 1950s to 1977.
- (2) The emergence of new churches and the role of Kasem Scriptures: 1977 to 1985.
- (3) New movements to tell Kasena about the Christian Gospel: 1985 to 1992.

The Kasena reasons for primary conversion vary. We saw that many Kasena attributed their conversion, their initial step to follow *We choga*, to God's help with a physical need. But this was not divorced from the message they heard. The information about Kasena conversion is significant in the light of Cyril Okorochoa's study of salvation in Igbo religious experience.²⁵² Okorochoa found that "to the Igbo, salvation is the possession of 'viable life' - *Ezi-Ndu* - which must be enhanced and

constantly affirmed in the existential here and now."²⁵³ The Igbo have rites within their religion to cleanse individuals and the community from sin and to deflect the wrath of spirit powers. However, they have no provision for forgiveness.²⁵⁴ There is also an eschatological element to *Ezi-Ndu* for a man tries "to live a good life, so that his good deeds outlive him and his name is therefore not obliterated."²⁵⁵ He is concerned for continuity. In traditional prayers Igbo request long life, prosperity, good health and many children. This is also what salvation means to them.²⁵⁶ This seemingly materialistic and anthropocentric emphasis in salvation "stands in great contrast, though not in opposition, to the Western preoccupation with atonement from sin and forgiveness of guilt."²⁵⁷

Okorochoa points out that for the Igbo, like many other African peoples, life is not divided into the sacred and profane, because spirit forces permeate the entire cosmos, rather it is viewed as a sacrosanct whole. What touches the person and what is spiritual is intimately linked in practical expression. As Kirby puts it for the Anufo of northern Ghana, religion is "lived rather than theorised about by true believers."²⁵⁸ Okorochoa asserts:

Salvation, therefore, has to do with man in his encounter with the cosmos in the existential here and now. To this end the people always expect that power must emanate from religious forms for the enhancement of life.²⁵⁹

In addition the "Igbo expect any religious form always to be able to produce power to meet every contingency, and power to make viable the life of the one who professes that religion."²⁶⁰ Therefore when Igbo turn to Christianity, they continue to search for salvation in terms of *Ezi-Ndu* (viable life) and they expect power to be forthcoming in providing all that makes life viable. Their main concern is for God's mighty power to make salvation "a tangible reality in the existential here and now."²⁶¹

Okorochoa inquired into the lives of some Christian converts to see whether education or material power was the motivating factor for conversion. He found that:

The motivating factor in Igbo conversion was not a search for education or 'white power' for its own sake, but a search for the power of God in the form of *mana* [power] for the enhancement of life which must issue forth into *Ezi-Ndu* in consonance with contemporary realities.²⁶²

Furthermore, Okorocha argues that the Igbo concept of salvation resembles the holistic view of salvation evident in the Old Testament where salvation includes spiritual deliverance from enemies, troubles, sickness and want. Where the Igbo concept differs from the Christian view is that the Christian concept places greater stress on the spiritual and the eschatological aspects of salvation with little emphasis on the physical side. Okorocha concludes that the Igbo

search for education and this-worldly or material wellbeing was to the people - in line with their traditional concepts - a search for salvation. It was a spiritual exercise and their conversion was a religious experience, even if it did not always fit into the missionaries' definition of conversion.²⁶³

In a similar way, Kasena who indicated that a crisis or physical need initiated their conversion to Christ, had a profoundly religious experience. It was not simply a matter of provision of physical needs. God acted and he is acknowledged for this. In interviews Christians were given the opportunity to continue discussion and most revealed an understanding of Christ's salvific role in their lives.

Although there has been increasing use of media and technical means in communicating the Gospel in the last 40 years, the essential feature has been the role of Kasena Christians themselves. Kasena were faced with the evidence from other Kasena that God had power to help them in their crises, particularly sickness and mental illness. We have seen the significance of the return of Kasena from the south, in communicating the gospel and subsequent growth of Protestant Churches in the Kasena area in all three periods. All churches in their initial phases taught people that they had to "leave the *jona*" in order to follow Christ. Although this bears similarity to the *tabula rasa* approach of the RC Mission in pre-Vatican II years, a number of differences are noticeable. Churches such as the AOG, CP, GN and the COLM (in its early days) and many of the groups beginning during the 1980s regarded the spirit

realm to be active, present and interrelated with many physical issues. For some, "leaving the *jona*" has been clearly affiliated with evidence of God's power superseding the spiritual powers they associated with the *jona*. God's power provided significant initiative for some Kasena to break with other spiritual powers they related to the *jona* without feeling they had lost their heritage. In addition, some churches have baptised people who were already in polygamous marriages without their having to "put away" wives.

The identity of those wanting to follow *Wε choga* has shifted from "*fari bia*" to "*Krista bia*". Furthermore, the image that "*Wε choga* is for children", is being broken although older men will still be heard to say *Wε choga* is for the children and they will mind the *soḡa*. We have also seen clear evidence of churches going through phases. The CP church initially struggled to exist, but the entry of a Kasena Christian deeply convicted about the reality of God's power to transform life, made clear that the church was for Kasena as well as southerners. The COLM initially displayed evidence of God's power. This power diminished or was replaced because of a lack of ongoing appropriation of Christian truth from Scripture.

According to Okorochoa, in the Igbo experience,

the 'power' that set off the process of conversion in the first place - both for the individual and for the community - does require continual renewal if that conversion is to become relevant at every given moment in, and in every given aspect of, the life and history of the individual as well as the community.²⁶⁴

Okorochoa's emphasis on continual renewal is highly significant for renewal can only continue to occur if there is ongoing application of the canon of Scripture to every facet of life and people are sensitive to the Holy Spirit. We saw in the story of the COLM that initially continual renewal did not occur. The subsequent access to vernacular Scriptures contributed to people leaving the church for other churches which used Scriptures, and searching for the "truth" and this in turn led the COLM into a third phase: a desire to be taught and study the word of God. The role of the Kasem New Testament has been particularly significant for the GN and COLM

churches in the western Kasena area, but its use is limited in most of the Navrongo churches.

Although there has been numerical growth in both numbers of churches and Christians, by 1987 the GEC estimated that 3.56 per cent of Kasena and Nankana (outside Navrongo) attended church. These figures are not significantly higher than those of the 1960 census figures, but there has been growth in the percentage attending church in Navrongo. Only after the next two decades will the depth of the current response to the Gospel message be evident. There is already evidence of Kasena in the protestant churches struggling with the application of the Gospel to issues in daily life.

The influence of the *sɔŋɔ* remains strong among the Kasena. Where a person is convicted of God's power in his conversion experience and there is support from a church, there is greater ability to withstand objections by other family members when a person ceases to *kaane*. Kasena Christians do not want to destroy family relationships. Twenty-seven per cent of those who wanted to follow *Wɛ choŋa*, did so through the influence of family members. Senior men responded to the Gospel as a result of family members being healed or others communicating God's word to them. This has occurred in the AOG, CP, and GN churches. However, for many, following *Wɛ choŋa* can result in considerable opposition from family members. Househeads feel deeply threatened if their eldest son becomes a Christian. Furthermore men face uncertainty in their future if they are cut off from ancestral land and the knowledge that wives and children may be jeopardised in their inheritance. Some have stopped attending the churches as they have come into positions such as househead. Chapter six will focus on identifying the problems, and issues that Kasena Christians face.

NOTES

1. WFD:12-10-1915 and 30-11-1915.
2. WFD:2-12-1915.
3. WFD:3-3-1913. In 1909, A.Watherston invited Basel Missionaries to Tamale to open a factory and to provide a "proper Church" for coastal people who had already begun to meet together for services. (NAG-A. ADM 56/1/5. CCNT Watherston to Chief Agent of Basel Mission, 24-4-1909). He also mentioned he did not want the Catholic Mission to move down to Tamale. However, when the Wesleyan Missionary Rev. H. Martin arrived in Tamale in November 1912, C.Armitage refused to give him official recognition. (ADM 56/1/12, CCNT Armitage to W. Griffin, 18-11-1912.) This was reversed the following April. (ADM 56/1/12, Ag. CCNT Irvine to Rev. H.Martin, 24-4-1913.) Armitage, ardently supported the White Fathers request as he reasoned that those who adopted the Roman Catholic faith were "much more amenable and law abiding than those who have embraced other religious beliefs, ..." (ADM 56/1/12. CCNT C.Armitage to Col. Sec., 24-3-1913.)
4. WFD:22-4-1913. The Fathers repeated their request and stated their reason: to "prevent the settlement of any other religious denominations in the same places." (NAG-A. ADM 56/1/12. Fr. Morin to Capt. Warden, Navarro, 5-8-1913.) Again the request was denied. The Provincial Commissioner was instructed to inform the Bishop that no Mission would have "a sphere of influence from which all other Missionaries are to be excluded." (ADM 56/1/12. Ag. CCNT to Ag. Col. Sec., 15-4-1913.)
5. Der, "Church-State relations," p.47.
6. WFD:16-1-1924. In 1924, Chief Commissioner A.W.Cardinall indicated that if the White Fathers occupied the country, the protestants would not be able to enter those places. (WFD:25-1-1924.) He counselled them to do this by extending their sphere of action as quickly as possible and to open schools.
7. WFD:31-1-1925.
8. This is a nearly literal translation of the Kasem sentence.
9. In Chapter four I indicated that I mainly depended on the archival material available to learn about the early situation of the Catholic story in Navrongo.
10. Pers. com., Gabriel Kpodo, Navrongo, 14-4-1992. Kpodo claimed the United Church was initially founded in 1953. All of the original members have died or returned to the south. Mr Gabriel Kpodo came to Navrongo in 1962 and the church had already started then. He was from the Volta Region and had been a member of the EP church. J.K.Mensah also reported the church was functioning when he arrived at Navrongo on the 10-10-64. The Church first met at the present Navrongo Library.

From there it moved to the old Hospital (now the AOG church). Then it moved to the community centre and finally they built a church. J.K. Mensah, worked at Navasco Secondary School. He initially joined an Anglican group at the Council Hall which was started by the Anglican chaplain to the school. The chaplain left and the group died out. Mensah then did not attend anywhere until he joined the PCG in 1989. (Pers. com., J.K.Mensah, Navrongo, 16-8-1992.)

11. Pers. com., G.Kpodo, Navrongo, 14-4-1992. The Assemblies of God Pastor, Kaba briefly attended the United Church in 1966 when he arrived in Navrongo.

12. In 1977, the Evangelist Mr Sackey held morning services in Navoro-pungu. (United Church Chronicle (UCC), 1977, 9-1-77. This is a handwritten "diary" kept in the PCG church in Navrongo. The Chronicle is now the Presbyterian Church Chronicle.)

13. C. Forrester Paton, in A.Berinyuu (ed.), *History of the Presbyterian Church of Ghana in Northern Ghana, 1945-1972: Memories and Reflections*, Asempa Pub., Accra (in print)

14. Pers. com., Jacob Ajegewo Ayariba, Walewale, 6-9-1992.

15. Pers. com., Jacob Ayariba, Walewale, 6-9-1992, and Elizabeth Atawojei Atotega, Paga, 22-4-1992. Both are the children of Atawojei. There were others involved with the beginning of the church: Samuel Ayariba, Abraham Paosua and Paul Abasongo (from the Chief's house). All of them have died.

16. Pers. com., Salome Jengatera Wevea, Paga, 22-4-1991.

17. Pers. com., Martha Awotoombwe, Paga, 22-4-1992. Jacob Ayariba, Walewale, 6-9-1992, also confirmed this story.

18. I interviewed three women in Paga PCG together on 22-4-1992 and one woman, during her comments about the beginning of the church, spoke of a "white man" and then she stated "After he baptized us all, we said 'free'. That is we called him 'Free', 'Free'. He won't collect. He gave us free and we called him 'Free'." I then asked her if she could remember the man's name and she responded, "I don't know the man's name, we called him 'Free'." Neither of the other women could remember his name. I did not discover that "Free" was Rev Eichholzer until I interviewed a Kasena in the CP church in Accra whom Eichholzer baptised in 1961. Eichholzer's name was on the baptismal certificate.

19. Pers. com., Jacob Ayariba, Walewale, 6-9-1992.

20. Rev. Byers, in Berinyuu, *History of the Presbyterian Church*.

21. John Callow worked with the Ghana Institute of Linguistics, Literacy and Bible Translation (GILLBT) and arrived at Paga in November 1962.

22. J. Callow, The Presbyterian Church in Paga: Some observations, March 1993. Callow described Atawojei as a "true believer".
23. Pers. com., Jacob Ayariba, Walewale, 6-9-1992.
24. Rev. Duncan reported "We had already been to Ketiu, which was joined to the Builsa area by a road ... and [had] been fairly well received - we preached there a number of times, but our chance to establish really came when the Chiana Chief invited us." (R.Duncan, in Berinyuu, *The Presbyterian Church of Ghana*) In 1955, the White Fathers reported that Chuchuliga and Sandema were at war (WFD:15-9-1955). Rev Forrester Paton also mentioned this dispute in 1957. The people of Chuchuliga wanted to join the Kasena. It was on one occasion when Rev Duncan visited the Chuchuliga chief, that he met the Chiana Chief and the invitation resulted.
25. Rev. Byers, in Berinyuu, *The Presbyterian Church of Ghana*..
26. Pers. com., Samuel Petua and Joseph Adawora, Asunia, 11-8-1992.
27. Pers. com., Robert Wekem, Chuchuliga, 24-3-1992 (English Interview)
28. Pers. com., John Logoyara Ava, Gwenia, 17-2-1992.
29. Emmanuel Koyiba (deceased) translated from Buli into Kasem.
30. One man I interviewed could only remember that if you went to church you would get clothes.
31. Pers. com., Robert Wekem, Chuchuliga, 24-3-1992.
32. *wada / wade* - The word *wada* appears to be an adaptation of the English word "order" which is used now to refer to rules and regulations of an organization.
33. The word "work" (*tontoga*) refers not simply to farming, but to any ritual activities for which a person may have responsibility.
34. This is the expression used for "believe in God" or "put your faith in God".
35. Rev Byers, also commented that between February 1960 and June 1961 communication was complicated because the translation had to go from English to Twi to Kasem. (In Berinyuu, *The Presbyterian Church in Ghana*.)
36. Pers. com., Ayijong Asalanyina, Kayoro-woro, 27-1-1992.
37. SIM was formerly the "Sudan Interior Mission" The name was changed to "Society for International Ministries". However, in Ghana it is known as SIM Ghana. It is an international and interdenominational evangelical mission.
38. Pers. com., Thomas Pewotigi Alira, Pwalugu, 4-5-1992, Akurigu Alo, Walewale, 4-5-1992 and Joseph Banadara Kandwe, Pong-Tamale, 4-5-1992.

39. Assemblies of God Ghana 1931-1981, p.2. This booklet was prepared for celebrating the 50 years since the arrival of the first AOG missionaries in Ghana. The first AOG missionaries, Lloyd and Margaret Shirer, Guy Hickok and Beulah Buchwalter, entered Ghana in 1931 and opened a station at Yendi (H.Lehmann, *The Ghana Story*, in *Assemblies of God 1931-1981*, pp.10,11). By 1938 the administration reported that the AOG, which was staffed and financed from America had stations at Yendi, Tamale, Kumbungu and Walewale. (NAG-A. ADM 5/1/70. *NT Annual Report*, 1937-38, p.89.)

40. NAG-T. NRG 8/3/59. *NT Annual Report*, 1935-36, pp.103,121. The Ewe Presbyterian and Roman Catholic Mission had also opened stations in the Protectorate and all three missions were given this permission. The report also claimed, "The White Fathers have had better results in the matter of re-attendance probably because being conversant with the native language they are able to dispense with the services of an interpreter, frequently an inaccurate and tendencious person, and have a nucleus of converts through whom they exercise their influence." (p.131.)

41. I am uncertain who translated the Mampruli material, but Thomas Pewotigi Alira indicated that the Gospels were being used as part of the work (T.Pewotigi Alira, Pwalugu, 4-5-1992). AOG missionaries Rev. and Mrs H.S. Lehmann and the Dagomba Pastor Rev. Daniel Wumbee translated the first edition of the Dagbani New Testament which was printed in 1973. The Lehmann's arrived in Ghana in 1944 and also spent some time at Walewale. (*Assemblies of God Ghana 1931-1981*, pp. 6,13.)

42. Pers. com., Elisha Akurigu Alo, Walewale, 4-5-1992.

43. Items used for divination.

44. He used the expression *o ke tuba* (he made 'tuba') to indicate his conversion to Christianity. Gagnon claimed the word "tuba" referred to a spiritual power which could remove all evil, bring good and exonerate a murderer from all guilt, enabling him to become like a child again. He suggested the remedies of the "tuba" came from the *tangwam*. (Gagnon, *Les avantages d'un meutre*, in *Mentalite Paienne*, pp 118-120.) The "tuba" also protected the owner from the evil effects of spirits and the person was bound to the "tuba" all his life. This word "tuba" is not used in the western Kasena churches, and I had no way of checking the validity of Gagnon's interpretation. In some AOG churches the term is used to indicate a persons conversion experience. Their usage of the term possibly originates from the Arabic word Tauba meaning 'repentance' (J.Trimingham, *Islam in West Africa*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1959, p.248.) In all the Mande languages tubi "is employed for both 'submission' and 'conversion'." (*Ibid*, p.48.) The Kasena who converted to Islam in Kayoro, use the same expression. Most Kasena Christians in churches other than the AOG use the expression *a ke a wo-dedoa a se Yezu* (I made one stomach I agreed with Jesus) to describe their conversion to Christianity. Pastor Peter Awindow suggested Kaba became a Christian around 1940 to 1942. Awindow entered Bible School a year after Pastor Kaba did. (P.Awindow, Bolgatanga, 22-4-1992)

45. Pers. com., Thomas Pewotigi Alira, Pwalugu, 4-5-1992.
46. Pers. com., Thomas Pewotigi Alira, Pwalugu, 4-5-1992.
47. Pers.com., Joseph Kandwe, Pong-Tamale, 4-5-1992. (English interview)
48. Pers. com., Nehemiah Adombadaga Akewo, Katiu, 9-11-1991. Adombadaga happened to be visiting Katiu at the time I commenced my fieldwork.
49. Although Adombadaga did not give details, it is possible she saw chameleons mating which the Kasena classify as a *wo-doga* (literally, thing perched) and if the *wo-doga* wants to be made into a shrine, it would follow the person and cause sickness or mental instability.
50. The Northern Ghana Bible Institute Opened at Kumbungu outside Tamale in 1949 (Assemblies of God Ghana 1931-1981, p.4.) The Kasena at Walewale who first went to Bible School were Pastor Kaba, Pastor Akurigu, Pastor Komoba (from Paga Nania) and Alhassan from Tiébélé in Burkina Faso. (Thomas Pewotigi Alira, Pwalugu, 4-5-92).
51. Elijah Akurigu's brother Alo Aga is the AOG Pastor at Nalerigu.
52. Ayamkori started a church at Zangua near Walewale, but the work discouraged him so he moved to Mimima where he pastored for about 10 years. He then transferred to Nayoku and remained there until his death in 1978. Pewotigi pastored the Pwalugu AOG church from 1964 until the present in 1992.
53. Pers. com., Thomas Pewotigi Alira, Pwalugu, 4-5-1992.
54. Pers. com., J. Kandwe, Pong-Tamale, 4-5-1992.
55. Joseph Kandwe now pastors the Pong-Tamale AOG church.
56. Pers. com., Rev. S. Asore, General Superintendent, AOG, Accra, 19-5-1992.
57. Pastor Kaba initially went to Bolgatanga for a year, and from there moved to Gambaga. He was transferred then to Walewale and from there he began to visit Navrongo in 1965. Kaba also spent some years at Nalerigu.
58. Pers. com., Oscar Ayirah, Paga, 12-8-1992 and Oscar Ayirah, "Ko na ye tei ye amo Oscar Ayirah se We to," Paga, 17-8-1992. Ayirah wrote his story in Kasem after I initially interviewed him.
59. J. Callow, Some Notes on the AOG Mission work in Paga and Paga-Buru, Nov. 1992. He attended his first AOG service on 9 December 1962 and he noted there were only 7 adults and 2 children. At a service on February 2nd, 1964, he noted there were only 4 people present, and that pastors from other places were leading the service.

60. Pers. com., Oscar Ayirah, Paga. 12-8-1992.

61. Pers. com., Peter Awindow, Bolgatanga, 22-4-1992.

62. Pers. com., N. Adombadaga Akewo, Katiu, 9-11-1991.

63. At that time the missionary who founded the Église Apostolique, paid a small salary to those pastoring the church.

64. Pers com., Timothy Agweru, Paga-Buru, Navio, 6-4-1992 and 22-4-1992. I also interviewed two of Alagesam's sons, Kobapiri and Achogbeɛ, Paga-Buru, Navio, 6-4-1992.

65. If a person sees the *sɔŋɔ koro* (shea nut leaf) growing on *kawala* (the fruit of the *kawolo* tree) they refer to this as a *wo-dɔga* (something unusual perched on something else). If a person becomes ill after seeing this, it may result in their becoming a *voro*. However, this can also be a *jona* and it appears that for Alagesam, it asked to be built as his *wɛ*.

66. Naviri is located in Burkina Faso. Some say it is around Kaya, others say it is between Guiaro and Tiakani, while one man claimed it was north of Guiaro. (Pers. com., Letter from Urs and Idda Niggli, Tiébélé, 18-6-1993.)

67. I asked Agweru if Alagesam's *wɛ* was the same as "*wɛ bu*" which the White Fathers described in their Diaries (referred to in Chapter Four and WFD:20-2-1953). In asking Agweru this question, I gave him no information from the description I had read in the White Fathers' diaries. Agweru denied this and pointed out that "*wɛ bu*" referred to the Naviri *wɛ* whereas they had gone to Loro. He also distinguished a *wɛ* at Daboa as well which was the place the White Fathers cited that people were going to for the "*we bu*". Therefore it appears that Loro, Naviri and Daboa each had something to do with a *wɛ*. Agweru explained that when someone went to the Naviri *wɛ*, a "rubber band" with a cowrie on it was attached to the person's arm and referred to this as the "*Wɛ bu*". Agweru said there were many in their houses who did those things. He spoke of people becoming mentally disturbed after attempting to use the Naviri *wɛ*. This *wɛ* was also associated with identifying those who "caught" people or who killed people (*chera*). Agweru's description of the Naviri *wɛ* is very similar to the "*We bu*" described by the Fathers.

68. They sent a message to Alagesam to tell him to kill a white cock to see whether it was right for them to enter or not. If the cock fell on its back when it was killed, they would enter. However, if the fowl fell on its stomach, they would not even drink water there, but would return home. Agweru took the fowl and when he killed it, it fell on its back so they agreed to enter. When the Loro people met Alagesam, they told him that if they did not come to build "*Yi [eye] diga*" for them, there would be no rain for three years at Loro and for three years lions would catch their women when they went to the bush. That was why they also accepted and "fell on their knees" in their *Wɛ diga*.

69. The *wε* had said that if any stray sheep or cattle were caught, they were for the *wε*, as *wε*'s things come to the earth. However, stray animals usually become the possession of the *tega tu* (land owner). This annoyed the *tega tu*.

70. When the police went initially to Alagesam, he told Agweru to tell them that the *wε* would not allow him to go anywhere. He also denied that it was a *liri* room. The three policemen then returned with a letter ordering Alagesam to Navrongo. Alagesam took a fowl and talked to see if the *wε* gave permission for him to go and to see if it was a *liri* room. As the fowl fell on it's back they had to go to Navrongo.

71. People speculated that he had put *liri* in the millet to catch it's spirit (*dɔge mena*) while others said he had taken iron. The landowner recommended to the children that Alagesam be chained because of his mental state.

72. I am not certain who "Awusiman" was associated with. I was told he came from Kumasi and travelled to many places talking about God's word. He ended up in Pô where he built a church. However, he was a Kasena from Pô.

73. Agweru gave lengthy details of the message they heard about "Jesus and his shed blood".

74. Pers. com., Peter Awindow, Bolgatanga, 22-4-1992.

75. Pers. com., Timothy Agweru, Paga-Buru, 22-4-1992. The *wε* possibly came on Alagesam at the end of the 1950s. Agweru stated that the *wε* came on Alagesam about 3 years before he became a Christian, but he also indicated Alagesam was under the *wε* at the time Kwame Nkrumah opened the border gate. Alagesam could not go to the event because of the *wε*, but told Agweru to go. Kwame Nkrumah did visit the north and opened the Tono drift in 1958 (WFD:8-10-1958), but I am uncertain if this was when he opened the border post.

76. Pers. com., Oscar Ayirah, Paga, 17-8-1992.

77. Callow indicated that he had not noted anything in Paga-Buru by Jan 1965, but he returned to Paga in May 1965 and noted that activities had begun in Paga-Buru. Callow also stated that on May 23, 1965 "Ayera preached in Buru to some 15 men, with some women and children." Callow recorded visits there on May 4, 30, June 4, 13, 1965. He noted that Ayera, Kwabena, Kachunguyere and Abeleyere went there with him and Ayera and Kwabena were involved in the teaching. By February 1966 the work at Paga-Buru was well established and on March 13 1966, Callow drove a team to Buru which included "Pastor Kabaa, who at this time, was a pastor in Walewale, but was visiting the Kasena-speaking area." On that visit two services were held, one at the chief's house and the other at Alagesam's. Callow reported that Kaba was bilingual in Kasem and Mampruli and he described Kaba "as a very fine man." (Callow, Some notes on the AOG Mission work, November, 1992.)

78. Then Rev. Hokett assisted them to build a larger church.

79. Pers. com., Peter Awindow, AOG, Bolgatanga, 22-4-1992.
80. Pers. com., Thomas Pewotigi Alira, Pwalugu, 4-5-1992. On several occasions people threw stones and mocked them when they preached, but that ceased.
81. Pers. com., Peter Chana, Navrongo, 14-11-1991. Chana worked for the Ghana Broadcasting Corporation in Navrongo.
82. Pers. com., Peter Chana, Navrongo, 14-11-1991. John Callow visited Kaba in Walewale on April 2 and 6, 1966 and then visited him in Navrongo on May 15 and 17. However, he had the impression that Kaba did not move permanently to Navrongo until the end of 1966. (Pers. com., J. Callow, 19-4-1993)
83. Pers. com., Martha Kama, Navrongo, 6-2-92. Martha related how she lived with Muslims while in Accra and so she became one as well. However, when she returned to Navrongo she abandoned Islam.
84. Pers. com., John Atongba, Navrongo, 14-11-1991. Atongba had seen something in the moon which he believed was trying to catch him. He stopped speaking to people, refused food or tipped flour water on his head and broke the calabash with his teeth.
85. Atongba said that while he was with Kaba, old men would go and greet him, but when they left, the sickness would come up again. Kaba told them not to come to him any more.
86. Pers. com., Peter Chana, Navrongo, 14-11-1991. Atongba is now an elder in the church.
87. Pers. com., Jacob Atega, Navrongo, 14-11-1991.
88. The Kasem is *a nae a tete* which literally means 'I saw myself'. This meant he had peace in himself. Atega explained that it was during the time Busia was in power in Ghana that he received God.
89. Pers. com., Jonah Kwotua, Navrongo, 25-11-1991.
90. Pers. com., Sarah Anaesia, Navrongo, 6-2-1992.
91. Per. com., Letter from A. Wichman, 13-10-1992.
92. The Church of Pentecost (CP) has had a complex history. The Christ Apostolic Church in Asanmankese, invited the Apostolic Church in England to send a missionary to help them. In 1937, James McKeown arrived in Ghana and served the church briefly before ministering in the Apostolic Church of the Gold Coast. In 1953, the church split and Pastor Mckeown was invited back to serve with the Gold Coast Apostolic Church (Later the Ghana Apostolic Church). In 1962 this church changed its name to the Church of Pentecost. (The Church of Pentecost, Unpublished ms, n.d.,

and C.Leonard, *A Giant in Ghana*, England, New Wine Press, 1989.)

93. Pers. com., Symon Bukari. Navrongo, 13-11-1991. (English interview)

94. It was the only Local Authority Primary School in the Kasena-Nankana area at the time.

95. This was written by Rev. L. A. Nyarko, CP Radio Pastor, at that time.

96. Bukari and another prisoner formed "The Born Again Prisoners Fellowship" in Navrongo. They wrote to religious bodies who sent them Bibles and they helped other inmates to receive Christ before their discharge.

97. She was given the name *Kayara* because the first three babies her mother delivered had died. *Yaara* means "to suffer". (Pers. com., Mary Kayara Bukari, Navrongo, 25-11-1991.)

98. This church was the church Madame Kawuru founded and was to become a Church of the Lord Mission Church.

99. This name was formally accepted on the 5th February, 1973. (History of the Church of the Lord Mission, Fifteenth Anniversary of the Church of the Lord Mission in Ghana, June 1988.)

100. As Madame Kawuru, is Bulsa, her Buli name is Akawuru. Some Kasena call her Madame Kawuri.

101. Pers. com., Rebecca Kawuru, Sandema, 18-3-1992. I also talked extensively with Madame Kawuru's son Blankson Kojo Abavang, Gugoro, 16-2-1992. (Both Kasem and English were used in Blankson's interview)

102. Pers. com., B.Abavang, Gugoro, 16-2-1992. Blankson described the man as a prophet who came from the Volta Region. Neither he nor Madame Kawuru could remember his name, although she thought he was associated with the COLM.

103. H.Brant, "Prophet at Kalejesa", 18-10-1978. A handwritten note of comments made by Joseph Akotey.

104. Pers. com., Letter from H. Brant, 14-4-1993. Howard Brant, an SIM missionary, had only arrived in Sandema in October 1978.

105. Pers. com., Abadigao Ali, Gugoro, 12-2-1992.

106. Kawuru even claimed that some people who could not walk, or were deaf or blind, were healed.

107. Pers. com., Paul Abadigao Ali, Gugoro, 12-2-1992.

108. Robert Bayerajei, George Kupoe, Kofi Babado, Peter Yidanjei all helped.

109. Pers. com., Mary Abaswe, Katiu-Saga, Tampu Soṅo, 13-12-1991 and her husband, Isaac Tonno, Katiu-Saga, 13-12-1992.
110. Pers. com., John Awɛleba, Chuchuliga, 18-3-1992.
111. Pers. com., Vida Awɛleba, Chuchuliga, 18-3-1992.
112. Pers. com., Ada Adamwoyei. Katiu-Adabania, 1-4-1992.
113. Pers. com., Peter Banavatei Atongwo and Robert Atongwo, Abulu, 16-3-1992.
114. Pers. com., Letter from H. Brant, 14-4-1993.
115. Pers. com., Asalipɛ, Abulu, 26-3-1992.
116. Pers. com., Paul Abasili, Accra, 28-6-1992. Abasili is the leader of the Good News Church in Accra Abeka.
117. Pers. com., Abadigao Ali, Gugoro, 12-2-1992.
118. The expression "sumsum" is a Twi expression for spirit. Those for whom the spirit took hold were referred in Kasem as "sumsum bia" ('sumsum' children).
119. One respondent went because he heard that Kawuru would tell you everything troubling you either in your thoughts or if there was a sickness. When he went he expected Kawuru to tell him what was wrong, however, it was only "sumsum bia" who told him things such as "something wanting to kill him." A women related how "sumsum bia" told her that her step mother who was a *chero* had caught her and would die. A man reported how the "sumsum bia" came to his compound and called them to come out so they could pray for them. If they did not, they would become sick. When they all came out the "sumsum" prayed to God for them and then told them that the *chera* had them and wanted to kill them, so they were to come and be prayed for at the church. Another woman told me she had gone to Kalivio for healing, but instead of being healed was told she had "caught" her own sick child. So she refused to go there again.
120. A woman associated with Navrongo COLM said they told her to sacrifice when her child was sick. One man indicated that a person may be told to give one of the following as a "sareka" offering: bean cakes, eggs, kola, white cowries or old Ghanaian currency. These gifts were placed on black ants nest or at a cross-roads and the individual "took out the wrong" and told *chichiri* to take the things.
121. I am aware of two cases in which people asked GN church leaders to pray for their house members who displayed signs of mental illness. Both had been in the COLM and in one case the woman had been in chains for several years.
122. Pers. com., Peter Jenkins, October 1992.

123. Pers. com., Peter Jenkins, 28-10-1992. Jenkins did not give a reason for stating this.
124. Pers. com., H. Brant, 14-4-1993.
125. P. Jenkins, "Pray without ceasing", December, 1984.
126. Pers. com., R. Kawuri, Sandema, 18-3-1992.
127. Letter from H. Brant, 14-4-1993.
128. The expression literally means "God's mouth".
129. Philip and Judy Hewer (GILLBT) were based near Paga from 1972 to 1990. They were assisted through most of the translation by Seidu Salifu of Kajelo. They published *Yesu na bi toone wone to* (Luke 22-24) in 1980 and John's Gospel in 1983.
130. Pers. com., F.Kupoe, Chiana, 4-11-1991.
131. Pers. com., Abadigao Ali, Gugoro, 12-2-1992.
132. Pers. com., Gabriel Ajongyere, Kanania, 16-3-1992.
133. Pers. com., Rev. Miriku, COLM, Navrongo, 21-8-1992.
134. Pers. com., Rev Miriku, Navrongo, 21-8-1992.
135. Pers. com., Madame Vida, Chuchuliga, 18-3-1992.
136. Pers. com., B.Abavang, Gugoro, 16-2-1992. He quoted Matthew 4:4, Jn 14:6 and Ps 127:1 as reason for needing teaching.
137. Pers. com., Letter from P.Jenkins, 28-10-1992.
138. Charles Anderson arrived in Ghana in 1977. He travelled around the country to determine where to place personnel. SIM chose to place missionaries among the Frafra, Kasena, Bulsa and Sisala. These groups were selected because little protestant work was evident, but more importantly, GILLBT personnel were translating the New Testament in these ethnic groups. (Pers. com., Charles Anderson, USA, 8-6-1992)
139. Pers. com., Letter from P. Jenkins, April 1979.
140. Akekodaga told me he was born shortly after his father, Abanapawo, became headman of Saga. (Pers. com., John Akekodaga, Saga, 6-12-91) The Navrongo District Record book reports that "ABANAPOAW" was "appointed headman of Saa section" in August 1928. (NAG-A. ADM 63/5/1. Navrongo District Record Book, 1905, 29-11-1928, p.411.)

141. Pers. com., J. Akekodaga, Saga, 6-12-1991. Jenkins reported in a letter that the family at Saga had "trusted the Lord". (P. & E. Jenkins "Pray without Ceasing", March 1980).
142. This is the Kasem expression *ko ba jege kuri* (it does not have meaning) which implies it was not good.
143. Pers. com., Abamore Akekodaga, Katiu-Saga, 23-12-1991.
144. Pers. com., J. Akekodaga, Saga, 14-9-1986.
145. P. Jenkins, "Pray without Ceasing", November, 1980. Jenkins stated "Pray for whole families to turn to Christ."
146. Pers. com., Diana Kolamwea Abanapawo, Saga, 17-12-1991.
147. P. Jenkins, "Pray without Ceasing", November, 1980.
148. Pers. com., John Awulore, Navrongo, 29-4-1992.
149. When Jenkins went on leave in mid 1982, John Awulore who had been doing much of the interpreting for Jenkins before Kupoe arrived, applied for a transfer to teach in Paga. He did this because he thought he would suffer having to do church work in Chiana without Jenkins being there. Awulore explained that he was not fully matured as a Christian and he applied for the transfer partially to remove himself from church responsibility. However, when he arrived in Paga, he found there was no one caring for the AOG church at the time, and he realized "the Lord had chosen him". He assisted there until 1990.
150. Pers. com., Beatrice Ajontera, Asunia, 25-4-1992.
151. Pers. com., Francis Kupoe, Chiana, 4-11-1991. (English Interview)
152. Pers. com., Charles Anderson, USA, 8-6-1992.
153. This is now the Great Commission Movement of Ghana.
154. In 1985 Francis Kupoe returned to MBC to complete his 3 year course.
155. Anthony Kupoe, Accra, 29-6-1992. Anthony has also written "A Testimony of My Call and Ministry", February 1990. (English Interview)
156. Anthony had set a date to take his life and the day before he went to a friend's house to deceive him and tell him he was going to Kumasi the next day. It was there he met Moses Buamah.
157. Anthony attended MBC in 1982. He returned to complete his studies there from 1987 to 1989.

158. Pers. com., George Atauwone, Kanania, 24-3-1992. Jenkins also wrote that "At Christmas time, his [Francis'] brother Sylvester accepted Christ and since then we have been taking services in his home area of Gwynia." (May, 1981)
159. Pers. com., Thomas Abugah, Accra, 23-5-1992. Thomas was born in 1960 in Kanania. (English interview)
160. He later undertook further training at the Christian Service College in Kumasi. It was after completing this he was asked to consider working amongst the Kasena in the Accra area.
161. Pers. com., Abulimi, Kanania, 27-3-1992.
162. Pers. com., Kawia, Kanania, 24-3-1992.
163. Pers. com., Babweri, Kanania, 27-3-1992.
164. The literacy work was organized through GILLBT and GN church leaders actively participated in the programmes.
165. Report to Area Council, Kassena Report, October 1980. The recording of Kasena messages and music was assisted by teams from Language Recordings, Inc, Australia. Recorders visited Ghana 3 or 4 times between 1983 and 1989.
166. Pers. com., Raymond Ali, Adasong, 20-4-1992. Several others in the church confirmed this story including George Ayipio and Alex Aliginia. Anthony Kupoe also confirmed this story in Accra.
167. "The Great Wall", Jungle Doctor Filmstrips, Paul White Productions, Sydney, 1974. The filmstrip is based on a story written by Dr. Paul White who was an Australian CMS medical missionary in Tanzania.
168. Pers. com., F. Kupoe and J.Akekodaga.
169. P. Jenkins, "Pray without Ceasing", October 1981.
170. SIM Council Report, Kassena District, May 1982.
171. Pers. com., F.Kupoe, Chiana, 4-11-1991. These courses contained Biblical and Health training. Two SIM nurses arrived in 1980 to be involved in a Primary Health Care ministry in communities throughout the western section. They have worked in co-operation with both the Ministry of Health and the GN churches.
172. Jenkins described TEE in this way. "Theological Education by Extension means the students study subjects in their own homes, and meet with a tutor once per week to go over their work, discuss problems, and organize the practical side of their studies." ... "The studies are in English". "T.E.E. means the students can continue with family life, church life, outreach and farming while studying, and put what they

learn into practice immediately." (P.Jenkins, "Pray without Ceasing, July 84.)

173. The Jenkins were replaced by another couple, Dugan and Christi Lange. Their role has mainly been to assist GN church leaders in leadership training and in the preparation of Biblical Study materials in Kasem and English. Francis Kupoe and Thomas Abugah are also preparing written materials in Kasem.

174. P.Jenkins, "Pray without Ceasing", May 1982.

175. Pers. com., Babweri, Kanania, 27-3-1992. Babweri's mother's younger sister married Atandeba at Nyangania and had a daughter called Apemusa.

176. Pers. com., James Ayizae Kachinga, Nyangania, 10-3-1992.

177. Francis indicated that Apemusa was the first person to come from Nyangania to the church at Kanania. (Pers. com., F. Kupoe, Chiana, 4-11-1991.)

178. Bada's father, Atanedeba, had a number of wives. Bada was the son of one wife; Kachinga, James' father was the son of another wife and Apemusa was the daughter of a third wife.

179. Bada originally went to Kawuru's church to see if she could tell him what was troubling his thoughts or if it was a sickness. (Pers. com., Stephen Bada, Nyangania, 10-3-1992.) James went because he was frequently ill. They took sand from the base of the cross, mixed it with water for him to drink and rub on his body and then they prayed for him. His sickness improved. However as he read the Bible, he thought there were things COLM did which did not follow what God wanted. (Pers. com., James Ayizae Kachinga, Nyangania, 10-3-1992.)

180. Anthony Kupoe visited the north at the beginning of 1982, returned south for studies at MBC and then moved to live in Chiana in January 1983.

181. In January 1983, a course was held for GN church leaders at Kanania and during the course a group went to Nyangania for a meeting and to show a film with the SIM missionary, Howard Brant. The following week the church was opened. (Pers. com., A.Kupoe, Accra, 29-6-1992)

182. Pers. com., Jacob Nankong, Nyangania Gania, 11-3-1992.

183. Pers. com., Ayijong, Kayoro-woro, 27-1-1992.

184. During 1980, Jenkins met Asalanyina's son, Lawrence, who taught at Kayoro Primary school, where Jenkins taught Religious Education. He told Jenkins of his father interest in learning about God. (Pers. com., Peter Jenkins, 28-10-1992.)

185. Asalanyina's son showed a me piece of paper which Asalanyina had asked his son to write the following:
"Kayoro Wuru 20-4-1990

"The church in Kayero was started in 19-81 Mr. Peter (sic) and Mr. John [Akekodaga] on 15th March.

"Ten members were baptised on the 13 July 19-86 and since 19-88-89 left Ghana there nobody (sic) to teach in this church again and so we are praying that one day our God the almighty shall give us somebody who will be able to bring people to the church as Mr. peter (sic) has done during his time in Ghana."

Asalanyina died on 10 January 1991. The baptism date was actually the 12 July 1986.

186. Pers. com., Ayijong Asalanyina, Kayoro-woro, 27-1-1992. It was not until 1983 that regular contact with Asalanyina and his family began. (Pers. com., F.Kupoe, Chiana, 4-11-1991.)

187. Personal observation, 15-9-1986.

188. Pers. com., Mama Awotunjeli, Kayoro, 15-7-1987. Asalanyina had visited Mama a few days before my visit. In January 1992, during a conversation with Mama, he related to me again how Asalanyina had visited him and told him about Jesus.

189. Pers. com., George K. Abanine, Kalivio, 13-2-1992.

190. Anyinasong had been employed by Jenkins to help in their house. He had occasionally accompanied Jenkins to Saga and Kanania and as a result he thought it would be helpful if a church opened at Kalivio. Anyinasong, had already informed others in the area of Peter's arrival, but at that time Jenkins had gone on leave.

191. Pers. com., Lawrence Asuavere, Kalivio, 17-2-1992. Asuavere's *sogɔ* was Kopedima's *nabera* house.

192. Although Asuavere was involved with the RC for more than 20 years, he was never baptised there.

193. Pers. com., Francis Kupoe, Chiana, 4-11-1991. On 13 November 1983 the GN held a dedication service for the new church at Kalivio.

194. The film was shown during a two week Bible course held at Nyangania, mainly for Christians from the four ethnic groups in which SIM worked and who spoke English.

195. Pers. com., Kwame Apetega, Abulu, 16-3-1992.

196. In December 1984. Jenkins wrote about two men from Nyangania church "witnessing" at Abulu. He described how some people had come out of the COLM to which they now referred as the "demon church". He mentioned that Francis Kupoe had extensive discussions with them on the Holy Spirit. (P. Jenkins, "Pray without Ceasing", December, 1984).

197. All churches in the western section face an annual exodus of the younger members. There is little opportunity for employment in the western section in

particular and this causes discouragement for church leaders in their desire to help people grow in their faith.

198. Pers. com., A. Kupoe, Accra, 29-6-1992 and F.Kupoe, Chiana, 4-11-1991. The M.O. organized the "M.O. 1st Anniversary Conference" for three days in December 1985 at which several hundred Christians from the Frafra, Bulsa, Kasena and Sisala areas attended. The M.O. organized a second three day conference in December 1987.

199. SIM has a similar policy to the AOG Mission and expects churches to support their own leaders.

200. The M.O. did not resolve the financial issues for church leaders, because in 1983 and 1984 there were exceedingly poor harvests and famine condition. During 1984, GN and SIM discussed the Bible Training facility, but it was not until 1986 that the M.O. agreed to build a Centre at Chiana. The land was dedicated on July 7 1987. The first three buildings were constructed and a dedication service for the Bible Training Centre was held in July 1988.

201. D.Whiteman, "Bible Translation and Social and Cultural Development," in P.Stine (ed), *Bible Translation and the Spread of the Church: the last 200 years*, Leiden, E.J.Brill, p.125.

202. *Ibid*, p.134.

203. Pers. obs., GN Saboro, 30-7-1992.

204. K. Bediako, "Epilogue: The impact of the Bible in Africa," (For publication , in 1994).

205. *Ibid*, p.136.

206. Pers. obs. during a visit to Adasong GN church in December 1993.

207. List of Literacy and Night Schools in Chiana, West Zone of Kassena-Nankana District Administration. 7-2-1992. There were 2934 registered learners, but it is uncertain what percentage of these attended their classes regularly.

208. Sung Adasong GNC service.

209. Diana Abanapawo.

210. Fellowship of Good News Churches, *Wε Ni-duure Tɔnɔ Botare Bia Na Wo Mε To Tɔnɔ*, 1993, p.5. This is a Kasem concordance of the New Testament.

211. Whiteman, Bible Translation, p.137.

212. *Ibid*, p.135. Whiteman refers to L.Sanneh, "Christian Missions and the Western Guilt Complex," *The Christian Century*, 1987, (April 8), p.333.

213. Bediako, Epilogue: The impact of the Bible in Africa, pp.4,5.
214. L. Sanneh, "The Horizontal and the Vertical in mission: African Perspective," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research*, 1983, 7 (4), p.166.
215. Pers. com., Joseph Naa Sapio, Navrongo, 25-11-1991. (English Interview)
216. Pers. com., Robert and Rebecca Sapio, Pong-Tamale, 4-5-1992. Some information was also given by their son, Joseph Naa Sapio, Navrongo, 25-11-1991.
217. Pastor Joseph Sapio stated that his mother worked for White Veterinary Officers at the same time as the cook, Baba Tiga who communicated "the message of salvation" to her. However, Baba Tiga Ouederaoga who came originally from Burkina Faso had also cooked for the AOG missionary Beulah Buchwalter. She was one of the first missionaries to enter Ghana with the AOG in 1931. She was based at Kumbungu working in teaching and literacy from 1938 until her death in 1942. Baba Tiga's wife was a Ga from the south of Ghana. It was during his time with Miss Buchwalter that Baba Tiga "responded to God's call and became pastor. (sic)" (Lehmann, *The Ghana Story*, p.12.)
218. I am uncertain of the specific numbers regularly attending the Navrongo AOG church, but on the occasions I attended, the church was packed with several hundred people.
219. Pers. com., Jonah Kwotua, Paga, 25-11-1991. (English and Kasem used in interview)
220. At a service I attended there were 100 adults (34 men, 66 women), but often they have many more.
221. Pers. com., Symon Bukari, Navrongo, 15-4-1992. The CP are now sending a Pastor to the Navrongo Church from the south of Ghana as the CP do not have any Kasena Pastors at present.
222. Pers. com., Evans Moro Alhassan, Kayoro, 20-1-1992. (English interview)
223. "Dawn broadcasting": At about 5 a.m. Evans would stand between the scattered houses and preach loudly. He would then move and stand half way between more houses and do the same thing. The people in the community thought he was mentally disturbed. However, he would then go around the houses in the evenings and gather those who were not busy and talk to them to show them he was not mad. (Pers. com., Evans Alhassan, Kayoro, 24-1-1992.)
224. Pers. com., Abiba Grunshi, 23-1-1992, and Kachonga Abaguri, Kayoro 24-1-1992.
225. Pers. com., Alwenawora, Kayoro, 24-1-1992 and 24-4-1992.

226. A woman related to me how she heard that "when you agree with God, every Sunday come to church and respect God." However, she did not understand the reasons for this.
227. Those who founded the EP church were Gabriel Kpodo, John Nyanu (leader), Mr Boateng and Ferdinand Agbeyome.
228. However, "Mad. Grace Quansah, a pioneer of the Navrongo Church who is a methodist (sic) refused to go." (United Church Chronicle, 1977, 24-1-1982.)
229. PCG Board, Discussion, 16-11-1991. All the Evangelists and Pastors up to and including Rev. Edwin Akoto-Attah, who arrived in September 1991, (UCC:21-9-91 and 25-9-91) have been from the south of Ghana.
230. GEC, Upper East Regional Church/Evangelism Survey, p.1/2.
231. I only discovered the existence of some of these groups in the last few weeks prior to leaving northern Ghana. One group only started the Sunday I attended the Church of Christ.
232. Pers. Com., Clifford Bediako, Navrongo, 12-8-1992.
233. Pers. com., Eric Okatakakyie Afrifa, Navrongo, 5-8-1992. Broken Yoke Foundation Ministries only functions in 1992 in the Upper East and West Regions. At present churches have been established at Wa, Jendaba, Lawra and Bongo.
234. Pers. com., Jacob Ayariba, Walewale, 6-9-1992.
235. GEC, Northern Regional Church/Evangelism Survey, Accra North, Ghana, 1988, p.24.
236. Pers. com., George Borla, Accra, 18-5-1992.
237. Awedoba states that "Kasena-Nankana believe that divinities can pursue their devotees." (Awedoba, Aspects of Wealth and Exchange, p.49.)
238. Pers. com., Dorcas Togechem, Accra, 24-5-1992.
239. Pers. com., Lawrence Lerewanu, Accra, 23-6-1992.
240. GEC, *National Church Survey*. The GEC also used the 1984 Population Census statistics to provide basic population data and the population figures for the Regions and regional capitals as at June 1989. The 1984 Census did not enumerate ethno-linguistic groups so they used the figures from the 1960 Census Special Report 'E'. This 24 year gap in comparison of figures does cast some doubt on the validity of their figures for church attendance in ethnic groups. The figures on Religious affiliation were also based on the 1960 and 1970 Census reports. (pp.10,11) GEC published a preliminary, but comprehensive report on the northern Ghana response to

the gospel. (P. Barker, *Peoples, Language, and Religion in Northern Ghana - a preliminary report*, Asempa Publishers, Accra, 1986.)

241. GEC, *National Church Survey*, p.119.

242. Minutes of SIM Council in Ghana, October 1978. Kantiyok Tukura was a missionary with the Evangelical Missionary Society, associated with the Evangelical Churches of West Africa (ECWA). These are the SIM related churches in Nigeria. Tukura also founded a Hausa speaking church in Nima.

243. GEC, *National Church Survey*, p.120 and also in GEC, Ghana's Most Neglected Mission Field, *The Task*, 1989, 4, p.3. One reason the GEC argued for this was because southern non-English churches focused on individual languages such as Ga, Twi or Ewe. Roger Sanjek researched network relationships in Adabraka, Accra in 1969-71 and 1974. He found that overall, in workplace, residential and leisure domains, people interact multi-ethnically. However, church attendance had the highest number of occurrences for single ethnic identity. Sanjek did not explore this and admitted that further research in church and mosque settings was necessary. (R.Sanjek, "A Network Method and Its Uses in Urban Ethnography," *Human Organization*, 1978, 37, pp.257-268.)

244. Pers. com., A. Kupoe, Accra, 29-6-1992.

245. Pers. com., G.Borla, Accra, 20-7-1992.

246. Pers. com., Lawrence Lerewanu. Accra, 23-6-1992.

247. GEC, "Commitments...Breakthroughs...for an Evangelized Ghana and Beyond," *The Task*, 1990, 8, p.3.

248. GEC, *National Church Survey 1993 Update: Facing the Unfinished Task of the Church in Ghana*, GEC, Accra North, AOG Press, 1993.

249. GEC, "3 Million Unreached Peoples: Ghana's Northern Mission Field," *The Task*, 1990, 10, p.3.

250. GEC, *1993 Update*, p.90 and GEC, Upper East Survey.

251. GEC, "Strategy for Growth," *The Task*, 1992, 14, p.3.

252. C.Okorocho, *The Meaning of Religious Conversion in Africa*, Aldershot, Avebury, 1987.

253. *Ibid*, pp.73,74.

254. *Ibid*, p.150.

255. *Ibid*, p.181

256. *Ibid*, p.199.

257. *Ibid*, p.78.

258. J. Kirby, *God, Shrines and Problem-solving among the Anufo of Northern Ghana*, Berlin, Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 1986, p.17.

259. Okorocha, *The Meaning of Religious Conversion*, p.79.

260. *Ibid*, p.198.

261. *Ibid*, p.244.

262. *Ibid*, p.240.

263. *Ibid*, p.295.

264. Okorocha, *The Meaning of Religious Conversion*, p.244.

CHAPTER SIX

THE ONGOING KASENA ITINERARY: PROBLEMS, ISSUES AND QUESTIONS IDENTIFIED

1. Introduction

In chapters two and three we discovered some of the environmental, social and political problems which confronted the Kasena. People sought to resolve these problems or to find answers to their questions within their religious framework and experience. We have also seen in preceding chapters how the Christian gospel has been presented to the Kasena, explored the range of reasons why Kasena wanted to follow *Wε choga* and learned some of the details associated with the founding of the churches. One feature of Christian teaching, is often to call into question life-values that seem assured. Some issues may not originally have been problems for the Kasena, but arose because some traditional solutions did not always cope with factors of life introduced from the outside or from missionary teaching. Thus when the Kasena heard the gospel new questions and problems arose because *Wε choga* disrupted their patterns of thinking and ways of acting.

Kasena questioned the nature of *Wε choga*; some Kasena rejected it, and others appeared to live in two worlds. Father Kazaresam depicts the situation for Kasena Christians in this manner.

Kasena traditional religion is earth-centred as well as man-centred. It is often the material security of man that is sought in prayers and sacrifices. This material security is so strong that it survives even in the convert to Christianity. When this material security of the convert is threatened by sickness, suffering and other human trials, he will often revert to the traditional religion to seek consolation and help. Thus the survival of certain 'animistic' rituals and activities amongst Christians, such as fetishism, magic, consultation of soothsayers and medicine-men, etc. The Christians' God does not seem to sufficiently meet their aspirations towards a material security here on earth.¹

Kazaresam acknowledges the interface between the physical and spiritual in Kasena

traditional religion, but he interprets the predominance of "material security" matters in prayer as a "worldly attitude towards religion".² We have however already seen from Chapters three and five and our discussion of Okorocho's study³ that this concern with the material may be in Africa a deeply religious issue. The problem seems to be that many Kasena Christians did not perceive the gospel to be relevant to their "worldly affairs". Furthermore, for the Kasena, particularly in northern Ghana, material well-being is not a luxury, but often a matter of survival. In the western Kasena-Nankana District, there is a lack of accessible health facilities in many places, drugs are often not available or affordable and when the rains do come, access to fertilizer to stimulate growth on a tired soil is limited to those with additional income or those who have "contacts" in Navrongo.

Our concern in the next two chapters is to discover more fully the ongoing new religious itinerary of the Kasena. Do Kasena today perceive that Jesus Christ belongs to them and their world? Do they regard the gospel as meeting them at their points of greatest need and providing them with ways of coping.⁴

To consider answers to these questions and to understand how Kasena faith and daily life interrelate is not a matter of measuring their theological knowledge. One discovers the answers through a variety of routes. Kasena Christian belief is reflected in their spontaneous prayers and requests and the songs they compose. Kasena reactions to problems, questions and issues they face are a vehicle through which one can begin to discern the nature of Christian penetration into a people's life and thought. The problems and questions need to be comprehensively identified before determining how Kasena react to them. This chapter, initially outlines problems and issues which the British Administrators and the White Fathers observed among the Kasena in Colonial times. Thereafter problems, issues and questions which Christians raise today or which are reflected through requests for prayer or in song will be presented. For the latter purpose, three sources are used for identifying problems and questions Kasena encounter in life and faith.

(1) Items channelled through Church Leaders (CL).

Eighteen church leaders or workers in six church denominations, some in northern Ghana and some in Accra, recorded Kasena questions, problems, issues or items of thanks which were either mentioned in church services or presented to them privately. Some churches provide opportunities during their meetings for "testimonies" and personal requests for prayer. A few churches give opportunity for questions and discussion after talks or sermons.⁵

(2) Personal History (PH) interviews.

During the 185 PH interviews I conducted with individuals and groups of Christians about their spiritual itinerary, I recorded any problems, questions or issues that people mentioned in the course of the interview. In some cases I did not ask about the problems because there was no opportunity to do so or other people were present and I sensed the person did not feel free to talk in their presence. All discussion of problems has been treated confidentially and therefore, unless the person specifically agreed, names will not be referred to in this chapter.

(3) Observation and listening in church meetings and in the community

Throughout the year of fieldwork, I attended church services and meetings of all churches in the western section, as well as many in Navrongo, Paga and the churches with Kasena speakers in Accra. I attempted to record questions, comments, testimonies, songs or prayer requests in cases where I knew the leader was not recording them. On five occasions (two in the north and three in Accra) I met with a group of church members to discuss their issues, problems and questions. There were a number of occasions when church leaders came to me privately and related "cases" which they felt were pertinent to the study. Four months of living in extended family houses also provided in-depth opportunity for active observation, listening and discussion on any issue in the community.

2. Problems and Issues in the first fifty years of Christian contact

(1) Problems already existing and affecting all society

Administrators and missionaries reported general problems such as: rainfall, farming problems, locust invasions,⁶ sickness, barrenness,⁷ methods of assisting abortion by drinking "mahogany water",⁸ drunkenness,⁹ and "witchcraft" causing illness or death.¹⁰ Charcoal burning is mentioned as a problem because it continuously destroyed the bush.¹¹ However, Kasena did not perceive this to be a problem unless fire destroyed property or people. The Fathers encouraged Christians to react to most of such problems through prayer, particularly during Mass.¹² They also introduced customs of blessing the grain and celebrating a harvest festival.¹³

(2) Problems resulting from the impact of the gospel of Jesus Christ

Some Kasena practices such as wearing little or no clothing,¹⁴ female excision,¹⁵ and the "taking" of a twin¹⁶ troubled the Fathers, and the sequent teaching of the Fathers on those issues created problems for Christians or caused them to raise questions. More serious problems for the Kasena, however, arose in the issues of burials, funerals, and beliefs about the spirit and ancestral realm because these issues brought Christians into conflict with family members and thus affected family life.

From the outset, administrators and missionaries expressed their views that Kasena marriages were unstable and anarchical largely because of the women.¹⁷ The Vicar-Apostolic of the Sahara portrayed the marriage practices in this way.

Chez les Gourounsi de Navaro, la situation des fidèles révél (sic) un caractère plus particulièrement odieux de ce fait, qui n'existe guère ailleurs, que rien dans la législation indigène, semble-t-il, ne met obstacle au vagabondage des femmes mariées, et que la rapacité des parents, toujours disposés à bénéficier d'une surenchère pour une fille mariée déjà, et parfois depuis un an et plus, la retirant pour la donner au surenchérisseur, lequel, tout le monde n'étant pas riche, n'est pas toujours son premier et vrai mari.¹⁸

He requested legislation to promote liberty of choice of partner, monogamy, Christian education of children, family stability, and the exemption of Christians from some native customs contrary to the faith, such as "pagan" sacrifices. Although the Governor gave the Roman Catholic church a licence to conduct marriages,¹⁹ in 1921, the Fathers reported that marriage "est le grand cauchemar des missionnaires, car c'est là la pierre d'achoppement où viennent buter beaucoup de nos néophytes et de nos catéchumènes."²⁰

As a result of Christian teaching, parents opposed their daughters marrying Christians or being married to men who became Christians,²¹ Christians' wives returned to their father's house,²² Christians married by church ordinance but some took second wives,²³ and Christians lived with women prior to the "canon of marriage".²⁴ The Fathers spoke against the practices of having a *boolo* (lover),²⁵ and of marriage capture. They desired that parents of Christians seek their advice prior to arranging the Christian child's marriage.²⁶

Between 1936 and 1940, an extensive debate occurred between the Mission and the Colonial Administration as a result of a Memorandum Fr. Morin sent to the Chief Commissioner about the problems Christians faced. He appealed for more rigid legislation as it was "a serious hardship for a Christian to be judged according to Pagan customs in those cases in which his Faith is involved, and to be penalised by fine or imprisonment for not conforming to the usages of which his conscience cannot approve."²⁷ Six of the ten issues listed were marriage related problems. The other four included; Christians being condemned for disobedience when abstaining from work on Sundays; Christians being troubled by landowners and chiefs for refusing to take part "in Pagan worship especially on the occasion of village sacrifices for rain, sickness, the building of a new house, the digging of a grave or the opening of a new farm";²⁸ compound owners preventing Christian parents from having their own children baptised or buried according to church rites; and, Christians being prevented from meeting or even playing football.

Chief Commissioner W. Jones requested all DCs to codify native law on what constituted valid marriage and divorce.²⁹ Some of the DCs responded to this request.³⁰ He also asked Bishop Morin to research the Kasena-Nankani practices on marriage, divorce, inheritance and land tenure.³¹ However, in spite of Bishop Morin's promise to begin "codification",³² the Commissioner sent eight reminders to the Fathers in Navrongo between September 1938 and July 1940 about this research, but they did not appear to produce anything.³³

The Fathers concern over Kasena funeral customs and beliefs led to the creation of special cemeteries for burying Christians and this disrupted the family patterns.³⁴ Kazaresam points out that although many Christians are buried in these cemeteries, often their families then take the clothes in which the person died and these are "buried at home as the recognizable sign or symbol with which the customary rites are performed within the family circle."³⁵ Kasena funerals are often completely separate from the burial and are divided into two phases: the *kwim* (mourning) or *lu-lea*³⁶ and the *fulim* (final phase). The Fathers declared the funeral ceremony to be incompatible with Christian beliefs and they barred Christians from organising funerals because the Kasena purpose of the funeral performance was to permit the dead person to enter the place of the dead and it involved "*kaanem*".³⁷ The Fathers' teaching on monogamy also disrupted the re-marriage patterns of widows. If a widow chose a married Christian, then this undermined the latter's position in the church.³⁸ If he refused her, he could lose rights related to animals and farm land.

The ancestors are a focal point of Kasena life, and here Christian teaching deeply disrupted family life. Fr. Gagnon claimed that all in Navrongo followed the voice of the ancestors. "Ce principe fut la cause des premieres (sic) difficultes que recontrerent les Missionaries dans cette contree."³⁹ Sometimes people chased those who wanted to follow *We choja* or who attended catechism or church out of the compound because they thought that the Christians disturbed the spirit realm and chased ancestral spirits away.⁴⁰ When misfortune or crises affected Christians, non-Christians often blamed their baptism or failing to *kaane jona* as the cause of this.⁴¹

Christians were placed under pressure when ritual specialists came to their houses. Gagnon writes of "un sorcier" arriving at the house of a Christian. He demanded a gift and promised to tell them a secret about a misfortune threatening their house. The Christian refused. "Peu de temps apres (sic) la femme de ce chretien (sic) enfanta (sic) et l'enfant mourut."⁴²

(3) Problems resulting from religious and social change

Fr. Kazaresam succinctly describes some of the problems caused by social change.

The effect which the fear of traditional taboos had on the morality of the traditional society has been weakened and thus resulting in more social and moral evils, like rampant stealing and promiscuity. Western influence has also introduced new objectives to life, like the desire for money, spirit of individualism, which were not so apparent in traditional society.⁴³

Gambling also had an impact on the Christian community.⁴⁴ Furthermore, education created expectations for "white collar" work, but led to unemployment and to young people being unwilling "to go back to the land with the traditional method of farming."⁴⁵ Migration broke down family unity and community life and lessened the traditional authority of elders.⁴⁶

Increased individualism led to changes in marriage patterns as individuals desired to choose their partners and not involve their families. If the parents disagreed, the couple often resorted to running south, bringing pain to the families.⁴⁷

3. Similar problems and questions in the early Bobo situation

A similar pattern of responses to those of the Kasena has been noted among the Bobo. Anselme Sanon extensively examined how "God's way" came in and disrupted all aspects of Bobo life: his people's place of living and burial, the initiation process, the working calendar and sacred celebrations, the world view, customary practices, especially marriage, the customs of their faith and it also negated the

ancestors and the society of their main spirit DO.⁴⁸ The conversion of an individual member of a family disturbed family solidarity and altered the unity of the ancestral heritage. Problems arose from the imposition of monogamy; if a man's wife was barren this threatened his family's future and caused them intolerable humiliation. There were crises within families: non-Christian parents complained that their children no longer listened to or obeyed them. Some Christians had to leave family compounds or face the risk of being poisoned by some of the less scrupulous elders. Others found that all the misfortunes they faced were interpreted as signs of ancestral discontent.⁴⁹

People raised questions very quickly concerning this "new way", but they also asked about the "'maison de Dieu' - l'Eglise."⁵⁰ Some of the old people asked missionaries:⁵¹

Si nous prions tous avec toi,
Qui gardera notre maison contre les autres qui ne prient pas?
Et qui s'occupera de nos Ancêtres qui n'ont pas prié toi?

Si je reçois ton bain d'eau (baptême),
Est-ce que j'irai encore chez mes ancêtres?

Est-ce que ton baptême me donnera la vie éternelle promise par mes
Ancêtres?

These questions provoked Sanon himself to ask: "Qu'était le retour chez les Ancêtres par rapport au ciel des chrétiens? Et la vie éternelle par rapport à la communauté de vie des Ancêtres? Et l'initiation baptismale par rapport à l'initiation ancestrale?"⁵²

Over time people raised questions on the world of the spirits and asked how the new spirits they were being introduced to would affect the ancestral spirits.⁵³ The failure of the catechism to provide people with answers to the spirit realm created deep uncertainty in their minds concerning the old values. What must a person think of the spirits? the ancestors? and the great Spirit DO? What attitude should they take towards the annual funeral, burial rituals, masks, dances and meat that had been sacrificed? Consequently Christians also struggled with uncertainties over their

Christian values and socio-cultural relationships: How were they to conduct themselves and resolve their problems? What type of family, laity, education and institutions was it necessary to create? What should they do about widows?⁵⁴

4. Present day Kasena problems, questions and issues

The church leaders (CL) recorded 515 problems, questions, or items of thanks.⁵⁵ Seventy-four percent of the items related to cultural, environmental, economic or personal issues, and the remaining 26 percent centred on biblical passages or church practices and teaching. In some topics such as funerals, marriage and sickness, church leaders recorded multiple items closely related. Many questions reflected a desire to know the "Christian" regulation for the issue or problem because in their pre-Christian tradition the issue was part of a religious framework. The CL and PH items are summarised in Table 6 as a guide to the categories of items. A more extensive listing of the actual questions and problems church leaders recorded are in Appendix 8. Table 6 does not portray the complex depth of many questions and items in Kasem. Each category will therefore be examined in more detail.

The PH interviews reveal that after some Christians began to follow *We choŋa*, they struggled with a string of misfortunes, as in the following two examples. In the year after one man was baptised, both his child and wife died. At his wife's death, the elders told him to *kaane jona* but he refused to do so and for two days they did not allow her to be buried.⁵⁶ Then his mother died, followed by the deaths of his sister, as well as 9 of his 10 cattle and 13 of his 15 goats. He travelled to Kumasi where he was hit by a lorry. When he returned north, an elder constantly troubled him and refused to help him with his difficulties and this went on until the elder died. Another Christian became sick, he lost his cattle and then his wife died. He said, "people told me '*chira mo jaani*,'⁵⁷ because the *chira* don't want me to go to church and that's why they caught my wife."

Table 6. Summary of items Church Leaders (CL) recorded and in Personal Histories (PH)

Description	CL	PH
Cultural, physical items	No.	No.
Physical health	76	65
Death, funerals, widows, inheritance	51	50
Love, courtship, marriage, separation-return	54	10
Pregnancy, barrenness, birth	12	5
Family, friends	16	56
Build own house	3	-
<i>Nabaara, chira, tangwana, jona</i> , other spirits	44	26
Obstruct church attendance/ Christian faith	5	3
Food, money (poverty, hunger)	47	25
Farming and finding lost animals, fowls	7	4
Stealing	8	-
Work, trading	12	2
Education	5	-
Migration	10	5
Disputes, anger, court	11	1
Insults, talk, gossip,	2	15
Alcohol, smoking, "wee"	10	3
Dreams	4	3
Fear of what would happen	-	6
Other - chiefs, gambling,	6	6
-----	-----	-----
Sub-total	383	285
Biblical questions	92	-
Church related items	32	-
Belief	4	-
-----	-----	-----
Sub-total	132	-
-----	-----	-----
Grand total	515	-

(1) Barrenness, Pregnancy, Birth and Children

Problems such as barrenness deeply concern Christians today, as they did in former times. A church leader recorded a prayer request of a couple who had been married for many years, but had never had children. The wife's house people told her to leave him and his own house people talked against them, which troubled them both.

In the PH interviews, two men and two women spoke about their struggles to have children. At times people deliberately accuse a barren woman of having abortions. A woman told me how her daughter did not conceive for many years, so people accused her of taking *liri* to abort. Similar allegations sometimes occur when a woman miscarries. One woman related how "Many said I took *liri* to make the pregnancy abort because of the church and because of that I should leave." Christians also asked church leaders about re-incarnation, abortion, family planning and whether it was right for Christians to *sweri puga* when a woman has her first pregnancy.

The interpretation of a baby's sickness can cause major problems for a Christian. During fieldwork, as a church leader and I were about to depart from a house a Christian woman asked me to see a sick baby. The baby's eyes were badly infected. We were in a hurry, so I suggested they take the child to a health post the next day. Another woman standing nearby softly retorted, "*bu dae bu mo, ko ye chichiru*" (the child is not a child, it is a *chichiru*). A *chichiru* is a child that is classified as not a human being but a spirit related being; it may have a prominent physical abnormality or simply have "teeth" when born. The church leader told me to wait and take the baby to the clinic, which we did. The child was healed and returned home a few days later. The Christian woman subsequently told me how people had troubled them by constantly insinuating that the eye sickness meant that the baby was a *chichiru*. She said "God's way holds", because she interpreted our unexpected arrival as an act of God to protect the baby.

Christians faced difficulties when they refuse to perform the *firu* or *swεem* (naming) ceremonies. Several women in Accra who have recently become Christians expressed fear about returning north with new born children. Neither their husbands nor their husbands families were Christians. They asked me "if I go home and they say my child wants to *swε lira*, what do I do? They tell me the woman is not for the child."⁵⁸ A Christian also pointed out the difficulty Christians faced if as a child they had been dedicated to a *lira* or *tangwam* and had been given a *baja* (bangle) or *kwara* (horn) to wear. Such people may fear to throw them away as they do not know what

will happen to them.

Some Christian women expressed concern about how to raise their children, especially where their husbands were not Christians.⁵⁹ Christian women also face difficulties if their husbands leave them in the north with children while they go south. A woman related how her husband went south, but no one cared for them in her husband's house. In order to cope she sent her son to her mother to care for while she went south.

(2) Love, courtship, marriage, divorce

Of the 54 items that church leaders recorded, nearly half focused on marriage to non-Christians, the way to marry or the gifts to be given in marriage. Among the questions on courtship and marriage gifts (*kadiri*), Christians asked whether to give alcohol, tobacco, kola, animals required for the *kɔga wonnu* (back things), or to *kaane lira* to which their wife had been covenanted as a child. Christian women also face the problem of being captured for marriage. Church leaders reported two cases of young women testifying in church how God protected them from being captured.⁶⁰

Most churches teach that Christians are to only marry Christians. This has resulted in uncertainty when a person becomes a Christian after marriage, but their partner does not. There are cases of non-Christians believing that conversion means the Christian partner will leave the non-Christian and of Christians interpreting the ruling as justification for leaving their non-Christian partner. The problems of finding a Christian partner were mentioned in PH interviews. This was especially problematic for people who began to follow *We choŋa* many years ago.⁶¹

Finding a marriage partner is more complex than simply finding a Christian to marry. A church leader reported the following case which illustrates a complex interlinkage of events.⁶² Another case is set out in Appendix 8.

A woman (Kadoa) visited her father's clan-settlement. While conversing in a *sɔŋɔ*, a woman delivered a daughter (Dedaane) and Kadoa contributed some money for the baby. When the mother weaned Dedaane, she gave her to Kadoa to raise as her own child. Kadoa arranged for Dedaane to marry a friend's small boy, Kofi. As Kofi grew up, he began attending church and became a Christian. He learned that he should only marry a Christian and he became interested in a Christian girl. Kadoa heard that Kofi attended church and Christians should only marry Christians, so she started taking Dedaane to church. Kofi knew of the arrangement to marry Dedaane, but he did not want to. Kadoa discussed the matter with the traditional elders in Kofi's area and they supported her. However, Kofi only asked his young friends in the church what to do, and they told him to disregard the elders and marry whoever he wanted. Finally, Kofi's father (who was not a Christian) approached some church leaders and discussed the problem with them. He said he wanted his son to marry whomever he liked, but he could not disagree with the elders in their presence. The church leaders now have to try and resolve the problem. Why was it that neither Kadoa nor Kofi went and discussed the problem with the church leaders?

Christians also asked questions about church weddings and whether those who have been married for many years can have a marriage ceremony performed. Some Christians are not eager to face additional expenses for a "Christian marriage" because they already have to cope with the increasing cost of items required for the marriage gifts.⁶³

More than half the items church leaders recorded in this section were problems or questions related to lovers, adultery, disputes in marriage or a partner leaving. When a Christian woman has a non-Christian partner, she may face problems over attending church or other meetings. A young woman who was a man's second wife became a Christian. When she attended church her husband shouted at her and sometimes even beat her. He claimed that she chased men and accused the church of "marrying his wife". He forbade her to attend church. When the woman became pregnant, the house people all waited to see if she would have difficulty in labour; they could then accuse her of sleeping around. However, she delivered without difficulty. Although she had the child, she finally ran away to the south because of the way he continued to abuse her.⁶⁴ A woman requested prayer because whenever

she tried to talk with her husband about God, they fought. Another Christian woman told how her non-Christian husband was taking all the food and selling it for drink. She asked, "Is it right for me to take and hide food? Is this stealing?" A church leader encouraged her to pray, plant her own groundnuts each year, continue to cook food for her husband and show him respect. However, another woman complained that when she did this, her husband collected all her harvest and he sold what they did not eat, and kept his own.

On some occasions Christian women bring on themselves disputes with their non-Christian husbands. Two women attended Christian conferences without informing their husbands, and knowing they objected. Disputes broke out when the women returned and one husband blamed the church leader for her going. Christian men also face problems over their wives either returning to their father's house or travelling south. Several men requested prayer for the return of their wives who had left them. A woman testified in one church service how she had returned to her father's house, but had now decided to return to her husband. A number of men asked church leaders what to do in cases where they had remarried when their wives had left them. The men had afterwards become Christians and subsequently their first wives wanted to return to them because of the children. Some people who do not understand the complexity of Kasena marriage falsely dismiss this as a hypothetical question. It is not.

Several church leaders recorded items which illustrated how some families contributed to division between husband and wife. This occurs particularly if a woman's parents are dissatisfied with the gifts her husband gives or with his refusal to participate in *kaanem*. People asked questions about why churches do not permit polygamy, and what the church expects a polygamist who has become a Christian to do with his wives. Several women told me of their struggle when their husband took a second wife and remained in the south, leaving them in the north often to struggle with hunger. One Christian man told me other Christians gossiped about him, "spoiling" his name and treating him as if he were not a Christian. He reacted out of

anger and deliberately took a second wife because he wanted to separate himself from them. He said he knew it was wrong. Although only one young woman spoke to me about the problem of prostitution when Kasena women go to urban areas, it is a serious problem women face. Kwesi Prah claimed that in urban areas "prostitution and child labour is practised by many Northerners. Many 10- to 13- year-old itinerants combine hawking with prostitution."⁶⁵

(3) Death, funerals, widows and inheritance

Church leaders recorded a number of questions related to death. One person asked whether a Christian is under obligation to fulfil a vow his parents made for him when they died. People also come to church leaders to inform them of a relative's death, request prayer for the soul of a person who died, or ask for "verses" to help them cope with the death of a child.

Discussions with Christians in the PH interviews reveal how death is used as a weapon to cause doubt in Christians' minds, especially if death occurred in their families shortly after a person or family decided to follow *Wε choga*.

After Alira became a Christian in Walewale, three times both his wives delivered a child, the child died. Pewotigi stated, 'Our father's brother said to him, you have these difficulties, because you left your fathers.'⁶⁶

Kofi, his wife, his son (B.G.) and son's wife became Christians. B.G.s wife suddenly died after child birth. Many people said the Christians in the house 'caught and killed her.' B.G.s child then died, followed by the deaths of Kofi's youngest child and his older brother. People in the community told them that other people 'usually half follow *Wε choga*, but you gave all of yourself to God and that is why so much death is on you. If you don't leave *Wε choga* all your family will die.' Kofi's wife ceased to attend church and left for the south. Some time later she returned.

Shortly after a man became a Christian, his brother died. Non-Christian's then asked him 'What did you see following *Wε choga*? Why is it that God doesn't help you?' It confused his thoughts and he began to go back from God.

When the senior woman in a Christian's house died, people told the Christian that if he had gone to the *voro* to discover the cause of the sickness they would have known where the sickness came from.⁶⁷

Christians may face also financial difficulties if a relative dies in hospital. The cost of bringing the body home to the western section is high. One Christian paid ₦10,000 (the normal lorry fare for a person was ₦200 at that time) to have the body brought back to the house. At times Christians also face rebuttal over their desires to allow Christians to bury their partner or child.⁶⁸ A Christian asked a church leader what to do when his family came saying they wanted to "bring the funeral home" of his child who had been buried in the church cemetery.

Most of the questions or problems presented to church leaders in this section (31 items) related to funerals. People asked about nearly every aspect of the performance. During a man's funeral, Kasena traditionally require his widow(s) to wear only leaves, beg for food, have her head shaved, participate in consulting the *voro* and *swe jooni* (a bathing purification ritual). In most cases all the rites are still performed today. Women asked which aspects of their husband's funeral they should perform? The other questions centred around whether Christians should perform funerals for parents, in-laws, or spouse. The senior sons and daughters play a significant role at funerals and a number in those positions asked what rites they should be involved with.⁶⁹ The aspects of the *kwim* or *fulim* that Christians questioned included: crying, providing animals or being involved with *feri ne*⁷⁰, giving animals not to be used for *kaanem*, a woman carrying the mat of the deceased, a woman cooking funeral food, pito and making oil, opening the silo (*lesi tio*), eating *guli* (millet porridge) cooked at various stages of the funeral,⁷¹ hitting fowls against the walls for the one who has died, providing alcohol for the funeral, and taking part in the destruction of the *chonga* (quiver) for the man or the *puga* (or *sogo*)⁷² for a woman.

A church leader related to me that on one occasion he had prepared new Kasena Christians for baptism in his church, but on the day of the baptism most of the

women to be baptised did not come. He subsequently learned that they feared they would not be able to perform their mother's funerals or take part in the rites, especially the *puga*, if they were baptised. However, they had never communicated this fear to the church leaders who were not aware of the significance of the problem for the women.⁷³ A Christian man asked what to do when he was informed by his senior brother that the house wanted to perform his father's funeral and he had to first find the father's *jona* and put them in place before the funeral commenced.

Christian women face a problem when they become the senior woman in a house. Traditionally, this woman plays an important role in the organisation of funeral activities. Some Christian women perceive there to be no alternative but to accept the responsibility, obey their househeads and participate in this organisation. Consequently in the dry season they often cannot attend church services, simply because of the frequency with which funerals occur. One woman related how now she was sent all over the area whenever something was on and consequently had little time for church.

A Christian who is supposed to play a significant role in a funeral, but refuses to take part, may become the centre of considerable conflict. A house performed the funeral of a man, whose widow is a Christian. She refused to wear leaves, take part in any activity connected with the *swε jooni* or eat the *guli* cooked at that time. A huge dispute resulted and a senior woman who had been at the funeral related what happened.

On the day of the *jooni*, they mocked her. They said if she was really following *Wε choga* she would not have spoilt things. She didn't take *Wε choga*. She should have bathed and done all the husband's work well, so that he departs. *Konto mo jege yazura* (This has well-being).

From the perspective of some of her family, her refusal to participate was perceived as a departure from *Wε choga* and therefore "sin", as her husband's departure to *churu* (ancestral place) was dependent on the performance of the funeral ritual. The house people told her because of her refusal to do the "work", she was no longer the "man's wife", and they brought his first wife back to do this "work". They would not accept

anything the Christian did in the funeral. The matter was discussed at great length throughout the community during subsequent days. People contrasted her conduct with that of another Christian woman who attended a different church, but who had agreed to do everything at her husband's funeral including the *jooni*.

Both men and women asked church leaders about a widow's choice of next husband at the end of the funeral ceremony. Several widows requested that church leaders help them to meet the family's needs, or to claim their late husband's gratuities. This is a particularly difficult problem for Kasena women as traditionally they have few inheritance rights.⁷⁴ Five other Christian widows mentioned their struggle with poverty as they had no one to care for them, give them food or to buy cloth and soap. One widow stopped attending church because of her shame.

If a person is a Christian and does not *kaane jona*, he loses his right to inherit ancestral cattle, land, the right to be *sɔŋɔ tu* (unless he builds his own house) or to be a *nakwe tu* (clan-settlement head or elder). An elder stated that if a Christian is the next in line to inherit the *nakwe tu* position, but he refuses to *kaane jona*, they will ask a child or another senior man who is not in the church to *kaane*. He also stated "the one who begs at *wɛ choŋa* will not get a plot [of land]". He will have to find land in the bush or he may be given a plot at the back of the house, not at the front of the house, because this is for the *chira*. The elder also stated that a Christian cannot become a *tɛga tu* (land guardian) because the land itself is a *joni*.⁷⁵ When people want to farm the land, a fowl is always given to *kaane* the land or "water" is poured when they sow their seed.⁷⁶

Church leaders recorded a series of questions about the inheritance rights for the eldest son. One Christian asked who would care for his wife and children as he did not *kaane* with his *nagura* (lineage group). A number of men I interviewed had stopped following *Wɛ choŋa* when they inherited the position of *sɔŋɔ tu*. A man who ceased attending church after his parents' deaths stated, "I knew that if I took two ways (*yi selei*), it is not good for me. I took one way, to look after the house." For

many people following *Wε choŋa* is not perceived to be pertinent to "looking after the house" (that is, the family including the *chira* and *jona*).

(4) Physical health: Sickness, accident, mental illness, snake bite, leprosy

Health problems are the most frequently mentioned issue in church services as many people request prayer for sickness and then in their testimonies offer thanks for healing or protection from accidents.⁷⁷ Among the problems church leaders recorded, people spoke of continual sickness and the doubts this caused. One man indicated how nothing troubled him when he began to follow *Wε choŋa*. He then added "when my mother and father died, the house people said I have no way to be going to church again since my father and my mother have died. What they were doing, I have to take that." He eventually left following *Wε choŋa* after he began to go blind, because his house people talked incessantly about it.

People asked questions on the use of *liri*, responding to non-Christians illness, building latrines, and the principal of contagion. I also recorded two related questions: "If a person does not have strong thoughts and you lay hands on a sick person, will the sickness transfer to the person?" and "What is the correct way to heal people?" Traditionally people took oaths on shrines for health and some Christians today make an oath with God. This creates a problem if they do not thereafter become well.

During PH interviews, some Christians related how their house people refuse to help them when they become ill. They were therefore forced to depend on church leaders to help them with money and going to a clinic. The house people told one Christian troubled by sickness that because he was unwilling to *kaane jona*, they were not willing to consult the *voro*. Nor would they help him go to the doctor because they had seen at the *voro* that the doctor could not help him.

Christian women at times face problems because it is customary for the husband and *soŋo tu* to make the decisions concerning a seriously sick child. A

Christian woman related how her child became ill and the *sogbo tu* went to the *voro*. Upon his return he told her that her father wanted one of her animals. When they caught it, she objected and they asked her "Do you want the animal more than your child?" She then told them to kill the animal. Although they killed it, the child remained ill for a long time. She concluded, "I got to know that the *chira* are liars."

After a young Christian was injured in an accident, his father brought a *voro* to build his son's *wε* without the Christian's knowledge. Another person discovered when he regained consciousness in hospital that his father had placed a *baŋa* (bangle) from his *wε* on his arm while he lay unconscious. Church leaders are also confronted with the problem of mental illness. The stresses on Kasena are severe, especially if food is scarce. In one instance, a woman came to a church service and asked for prayer and wept. She attended church but had become mentally unstable after having a dream. Christians had prayed for her, but it had not ceased. The house people said her husband's *jona* had caused her mental illness because she had left them. One questioner asked, "If a Christian becomes mentally ill and dies, is it a sin?"

Kasena believe that there are people in the community who throw *dola*. *Dola* is a throwing medicine or charm used often at funerals to harm people or to spoil an individual's dancing or drumming. Some say it is like a small piece of charcoal which if you step on causes pain and makes the leg swell. It is usually treated with *dola liri*. A Christian told me how someone threw *dola* on his leg. He went to four different church groups in his search for healing before he found complete healing.

In most snake bite or scorpion sting cases, the cause is sought from the *voro*. Often snake serum is not available in northern Ghana and people frequently use traditional *liri* for treatment. People asked church leaders whether they could use *liri* when serum was not available, or accept a parent's concerned role in finding out the cause from the *voro*. A woman related how a member of the house told her the "father" wanted an animal from her. She refused and that evening a scorpion stung her child. The house people attributed this to her refusal to give the animal. She was

desperately afraid and sought other Christians to plead for help in prayer.

(5) Farming

Christians expressed uncertainty to church leaders over what gifts they should give landowners and whether a Christian could use protective *liri* to stop people stealing their produce or the "spirit" of the food. Thieving of livestock and fowls is a serious problem for all Kasena, as these items are sources of finance for both individuals and family. Therefore, many people justify the use of *liri* to protect themselves from thieves as well as to catch them. Christians asked church leaders what to do if they caught thieves and whether they could swear by the *doa* (rain) to identify them.⁷⁸ One Christian related how someone constantly stole his chickens and crops. People suggested that he ask the *sɔŋɔ tu* to consult the *voro* to find out why people stole his goods and then to ask him to *pwe chira* to determine who was stealing.⁷⁹ The Christian related how the Holy Spirit helped him not to listen to those people. The church leader subsequently informed me that the Christian left for the south because it was too difficult to stay in his house.

A church leader reported that people had offered him stolen goods on several occasions. Church leaders also struggled with having their own possessions stolen. One church leader had several of his animals stolen during a church service, even though they were tied right outside the church. One Christian asked for prayer to know whether he should build his own house because people in his house constantly stole his things. No one would admit to taking them and so he wanted to move out of his house; he asked for prayer because he did not know if it was what God wanted.

Every year people experience hunger and this occurred during the 1991-1992 dry season.⁸⁰ Some church leaders who are perceived to have "means" face constant requests. Many of the items church leaders recorded related to requests people made for money, food or seed to plant. One church leader who owned a grinding machine recorded how many people requested the leftover flour off the floor beneath the

grinding machine each day.

Some of the questions church leaders recorded on hunger and food reflected Christians' desires to be able to provide for their family. In PH interviews, a number of Christians told how their struggle with hunger increased after they became Christians. One Christian found that his friends ceased helping him farm and he was unable to farm enough land to provide sufficient food for his family to eat through the dry season. Another man worked closely with his father and his father always provided for him. However, when he became a Christian he "roamed about doing God's work" and this left little time to work with his father. Consequently, his father provided food only when the Christian's food completely ran out. The place where he farmed did not produce well and he did not have money to buy fertilizer to help his crops. He was not able to buy additional food. He struggled to provide for his family and became discouraged. He stated, "I have seen from God's word that it is right for me to take good care of my family so they don't fall into sin or suffer." He asked another Christian to pray for him so he did not go back. He thought he might migrate south because of his situation.

Hunting provides additional income for men in the dry season, but hunters and fishermen use *liri* related to the bush spirits, to assist them. One man asked, "If a man follows *wε choga*, would God still be with him when he goes to the bush to hunt?"

(6) Work - trading

Church leaders recorded questions related to work and trading. Some Christians interpret any form of profit making in trading as a "sin", because "a Christian shouldn't cheat his friend" by increasing the price from the original purchase price. It reflects a lack of understanding of transport or other economic costs.⁸¹ Consulting *vora* or using *liri* to assist a person find work is practised by many people. A Christian abandoned the *liri* he was given to help him trade. He asked if it would still affect him in his work.

In the PH interviews there was evidence that some Christians had little understanding of surviving financially in a competitive and inflationary economy. They interpreted their loss of income to be caused by beginning to "follow God". A Christian woman stated,

I used make oil and sell it and sell kola and other things. I saw plenty of money. I followed God and I don't get that again. Some say I used to not follow God and I didn't suffer. Now I follow God that is why I am suffering like this.

Another Christian used to make ₵5,000 a day trading bread but now he makes only ₵2,000 a day and this troubled his mind. In northern Ghana, any finances a Christian has will be rapidly depleted if they fall ill and are unable to work for cash. Church leaders struggle with lack of finance and sometimes face problems as a result of the expectations and perceptions others have of them. One church leader's extended family frequently request money which places great strain on his wife.

(7) Other household or individual problems

A few questioners asked church leaders how to seek reconciliation and how a Christian should respond when insulted. People sought the help of church leaders to resolve disputes. Others requested prayer about court cases and also testified how God helped them to have fewer fights, be less quarrelsome or lessen their anger. Church leaders recorded questions on or prayer requests for: interpreting the meanings of bad dreams, God's help in exams, fees for exams, mediating with school staff, family members who had travelled south and not been heard from for many years, safe travel for Christians wanting to go south and for family members to return and help elderly parents struggling to survive. Kasena raised questions as to why some churches prohibit the use of alcohol, tobacco and kola, the necessity for the regulations and how to cope with requests for alcohol by in-laws.⁸² I observed people request prayer for God to help them with their alcoholism.

(8) Family and friends

Church leaders reported a series of problems people presented to them related to their families. They are similar to many of the problems some of the first Christians faced: food withheld, being forced to work on Sunday, objections to attending church, and being mocked by family.⁸³ I discussed with a group of Christians the problems Christians faced living in their compounds. Some of their statements included:

All the time people put things in front of you. They take your fowls; if your farming doesn't go well they laugh; sickness - they say it's because you follow God and not the *jona*; if you have a bag of groundnuts, they will beg a bucket and if you don't give they say you are not a Christian.

Many Christians mentioned struggling with insults from family members for attending church or refusing to *kaane jona*. However, some Christians bring disputes upon themselves by showing disrespect to their elders when they refuse to participate in things. I observed a woman in a church meeting ask for prayer because she beat her children all the time, until one beat her on the head with a piece of wood. As a result she decided to put herself in God's hands.

Some Christians spoke positively of their relationship with their family. One Christian prays for house members when they are sick. A Christian woman related how her family always remind her to go to church and a church leader complained he had little time to reciprocate his family help because of his constant church work. People also pleaded for help with family work such as building rooms.

Isolation from other Christians, especially if a Christian is alone in his house, magnifies a Christian's problems as there is no one with whom to discuss issues or provide help. Church leaders reported that Christians who are far from other Christians complained of loneliness and isolation. A Christian talked about the difficulties he had in keeping going because he had no friends in the church. In

addition, some Christians do not communicate to their church leaders when they are struggling and so other Christians are unable to help them in their isolation.

(9) Ancestors, spirits of the dead, shrines and spirits

Although all of the above sections relate to physical or relationship issues, in the Kasena context all are religious issues. Christians therefore raise them in a religious context. They also asked about the spirit realm. Church leaders recorded 44 items related to the *nabaara*, *chira* and *tangwana*. People asked questions about the role of *nabaara* and why people should pray to Jesus and not their *nabaara*. Some Christians who had been dedicated to *jona* as children or who had made oaths on shrines such as *tangwana* before becoming Christians, asked church leaders how to be released from these oaths and whether they would be harmed if they did not fulfil the oath. The *tangwana* have significant power in the community. A new group of Christians wanted a place to meet and the community elders gave them some land.⁸⁴ After several weeks of meeting, the elders ordered every house in the area to take two fowls to the *tangwam*. They told the people that a *voro* said the wife of the *tangwam* was "unhappy because things have come and are making noise [the church singing etc], blocking her path to reach the main *tangwana* of the area and bringing light [the light used in night meetings]." If the church did not move away, she and her husband at the bush (the *tangwam* is a clump of trees in the bush) would both go to a major *tangwam* and would come back with fire. Therefore, if they wanted it "to be cool", they should move. When the church leaders heard about this they met the elders and discussed the issue. The elders still asked the Christians to meet in a different place. One Christian claimed a spiritual power was blocking the *tangwam* from passing. This incident closely resembles Alagesam's experience in Paga-Buru when he built his "*wε diga*" prior to becoming a Christian. Okorochoa gives a similar example of a river spirit angry with those who built a school which blocked the spirit from reaching the earth deity. Children and teachers also behaved immorally and flouted ancestral tradition. These problems were identified after lightning killed five pupils.⁸⁵

Church leaders recorded only one question on divination: whether a Christian could accompany his brother to consult a diviner. This does not mean that the issue is unimportant. Consulting the *voro* is interconnected with subsequent *kaanem* at shrines. The numerous questions raised about *jona* and *tangwana* therefore implicitly refer also to divination. In addition, during interviews many Christians told of the pressure they faced when they encountered difficulties, their relatives went to the *voro* and then told them what they needed to do. One Christian described how his brother constantly tried to make him stop following God and *kaane jona*. When the Christian's wife gave birth, the brother went to the *voro* and then told him he had to kill two guinea fowls to "bath (*swε*), for my wife has many children in God's house coming, but if I don't *kaane*, the woman will not deliver any more." The Christian refused and his wife did have more children.

Church leaders recorded questions about whether a Christian should *kaane jona* or *liri* or allow someone to do it for them, give the animals, prepare food to be used for *kaanem* or eat any of the food.⁸⁶ I heard two other questions asked in the south of Ghana.

My father went to the *voro* and wants to cut my *yuu jona*, what should I do?

When a man in Kasongo [the north] sacrifices *jona*, he will *kaane* and call his sons name when the son is not there. He will pour flour water while his son is not in Kasongo. Can it work in the soul to reach that boy? Does it work on your soul or does it not reach your soul?

One church leader pointed out that people "fear to throw away their *jona*, because they don't know what will happen to them. Many reject Christianity because of fear. So you have to give them assurance that Christ is able to do more." Another church leader also concurred with this. He stated,

The thing which makes it very hard for us to become a Christian is the anxiety. It comes on all Christians. They think that if they leave the *tangwana*, *jona* and *lira* and come to God's house, their fathers will arrest them or their medicines will kill them and they will die. Their father who died ... will catch them and they will die. That is why they always fear.

Okorochoa gives a number of examples which also illustrate the reality of this fear. An action which contravenes the equilibrium between natural and supernatural realms is sin and brings the wrath of the spirits or ancestors. To fail to fulfil customary rites and then face a crisis is regarded as evidence of spiritual wrath. A young Igbo church goer suddenly died. The medicineman diagnosed that he died because he failed to make sacrifices to his ancestors prior to building a new room.⁸⁷ Paul Abasili related to me in Accra how he began to follow *Wε choŋa* in Madame Kawuru's church and he ceased to *kaane jona*. However, he was forced to *kaane jona* again. He stated

It was fear that made me *kaane jona* because I didn't stand well in God's way at that time. It wasn't in my head to do it.... I said 'if I am able to go to Kumasi I will be free.' As I am here that is why the *jona* gave me fear and disturbed me. That made me to come here [Accra] to escape *jona kaanem* ... I knew that it wasn't true.⁸⁸

Some people therefore stop attending church while others leave for the south either because of fear or they do not feel free to follow *Wε choŋa* while they remain in their family *sɔŋɔ*. Fear also prevents some Kasena Christians from returning to their extended family *sɔŋɔ*. One Christian finished his work in the south, but did not feel he could move to his home for fear his house people would "spoil" his children, so he settled in a town in central Ghana. Another Christian who had moved further south from his home area, said he would not send his children back to his family *sɔŋɔ*, because he feared they would "spoil" them so they would stop going to God's house.

Several Christians in the south argued that if a Christian wants to go to church in the north or if he does not join his house people when they *kaane joni*, people insult him and he feels ashamed to go to church. One Christian stated "it is much harder to be a Christian in the north than in the south."

(10) Those who catch and destroy the soul (*chero/jiru* - witch)

Christians face problems if they or a family member is accused of being a *chero* or if they are told a *chero* has caught their soul. Shortly after a househead (Kofi) and his wife became Christians, his son's in-laws and some *sampwori* visited

the house and told Kofi that a *chero* had caught the soul of the son's wife. Therefore, she had to go "on top of a *tangwam*" for protection. Kofi refused and told them they followed *Wε choga* and *Wε* was stronger than the *tangwam* so they would put her in God's hands. Her father however, accused Kofi of wanting to kill his daughter by not putting a *kwara* on her neck. The woman's parents took her to *kaane* the *tangwam*⁸⁹ and then took her home where she remained for nearly three years.

Church leaders reported that a woman requested prayer because she feared walking alone at night as people claimed *jiru* were in the area. Another woman gave thanks because her child saw a *jiru* one night in the house, but it did not "catch" anyone. A questioner asked, "If a *chero* or *jiru* catches someone's soul, can the soul go to heaven?" A number of Christians expressed their fear to a church leader after announcement in a market place that somebody had brought a *kanyanchoro*⁹⁰ and a *kogɔ* (ghost) to destroy people and that person would be punished if anyone in the area was harmed.

(11) Belief, Scripture, the Church

In those churches which provide people with the opportunity to ask questions or make comments after talks Church leaders recorded questions asked on passages of scripture. As a result the questions reflected what was being taught in those churches on those occasions. Some questions illustrate clearly how the hearer interpreted the message in the light of his or her world view. After hearing the story of the healing of Naaman (2 Kings 5), several questioners interpreted the river to be a *tangwam* and asked about the place of this in the life of a Christian. Other culturally related questions included, "Did they perform Jesus' funeral?" and "When Jesus told Mary not to touch him does this mean he was a *kogɔ* (ghost)?" One person asked why Jesus is identified as white when he "died for both black and white".

People raised questions about "Satan". The word "*setaane*" is used in several ways by Kasena. It can mean "Satan", a "demon", it can refer to an evil or bad

influence or even behaviour. On occasions people requested prayer because "*setaane*" troubled or tried to spoil them. One woman stated she "saw things" which she described as "*setaane*" and she did not sleep well.

Church leaders recorded other questions on: Christians and poverty; whether poor people "go to heaven"; whether the church was for children; and the reasons for denominational differences. In interviews some Christians complained about the numbers of church meetings they had to attend in the farming season which meant that they had less time to farm. Kasena asked Church leaders where their finances come from. One church leader told how Christians accused him of taking church funds for himself after he taught them about tithing. Another Christian complained that his church wrongly used money and did not tell Christians how it was being used.

People asked questions about the purpose of Christian festivals and ritual, becoming a Christian, faith, baptism, re-baptism when people change churches, communion, church discipline and the purpose of it. In PH interviews a number of people complained about the way other Christians react to those who they perceive to be behaving wrongly as Christians. Instead of going to the person, they gossip to others, criticise the person and stop communicating with them. One Christian related how when he did wrong, instead of coming to him, the church leaders only preached sermons on the problem and it made him want to leave the church.

A church leader asked how he could get Kasena Christians to talk about their problems. People asked questions about giving and coping with those who beg from them. Christians are disturbed when God does not appear to answer their prayers.

5. Conclusion

Many of the problems, questions and issues of Kasena Christians today are similar to those the White Fathers and administrators noted. The greatest contrast occurs in marriage related issues and this will be examined in Chapter seven. The

crucial questions, problems and issues for Kasena Christians centre around marriage, death, funerals, the spirit realm, *jona* and the consequences of oath taking. All these matters deeply impinge on family life. The covenants that many Kasena enter prior to becoming a Christian weigh on their minds. People believe that the spirits associated with these shrines "follow" those dedicated to them. Death and crises after conversion are often blamed on the conversion and "leaving the *nabaara choga*." If there are constant verbal barrages, this undermines a Christian's confidence in his/her faith, especially if the Christian is isolated by distance from other Christians or is the only Christian in his/her house. A lack of support from church members aggravates the isolation and heightens the doubts. Problems and questions were similar whether Kasena were in the north or south of Ghana. The major difference was the difficulties Christians face over inability to find work in the south and the exorbitant rent for very small rooms.

The impact of British Colonial rule and the entry of the gospel of Jesus Christ among the Kasena produced new situations which the traditions of the *nabaara* had no answers to. In addition the gospel message disturbed the core elements of their religious beliefs. Those wanting to follow *We choga* found themselves in situations of conflict and confusion, unsure as to how they ought to react to their problems and crises. Their old mechanism for problem resolution either proved ineffective or had largely been condemned. People desired to know the "Christian regulation" for the issue or problem because within their pre-Christian tradition these issues were an intrinsic part of their religious framework. Today Kasena Christians still search for what A.F.Walls describes as "a key to conduct."⁹¹

The search for a new key to life, a yearning to be able to make assured choices with a good conscience, is surely a thoroughly religious motive, even if it is not one to which missionary preaching has been primarily addressed.

The questions and problems outlined in this chapter represent the Kasena search for ways to cope with life which please God and which restore order to the disturbed relationships, values and spiritual beliefs.

NOTES

1. Kazaresam, *The Kasena of Ghana*, p.49. Albert Awedoba also argues that church attenders commonly use diviners, give material provisions towards traditional sacrifice, succumb to polygamy and some even acquire lineage shrines. (Awedoba, *Aspects of Wealth and Exchange*, pp.90,91,192)
2. Kazaresam, *The Kasena of Ghana*, p.49.
3. Okorochoa, *The Meaning of Religious Conversion*, pp. 204,235.
4. The Evangelical theologians who compiled the Thailand Report claimed that the Christian gospel could provide Christians with ways to cope and meet them at their points of greatest need. (Thailand Report, *Christian Witness to People of African Traditional Religions*, p.15.)
5. The leaders only recorded the date, sex of the person, the location where the problem, question, issue or thanks was raised, and the problem, question, issue or thanks presented to them. Not all church leaders recorded all the details as some found it extremely difficult to record during church services. Some questions asked may have been hypothetical and where possible I tried to identify this. A few church leaders may have also personally taken the opportunity to address their own questions to me. Some examples of this became apparent, either because church leaders informed me or because I knew the person fairly well and the context of the question or problem reflected events in his life situation.
6. The White Fathers recorded rainfall and farming problems (see Chapter Two) and also their way of responding to these problems. They reported occasions when people performed sacrificial ritual in the community because rains failed or locusts invasions threatened crops (WFD 19-5-1912, 5-7-1914, 30-5-1921, 4,5,7-6-1922).
7. Gagnon, *Moeurs et Coutumes*, p.71. Kazaresam (*The Kasena of Ghana*, p.26) and Awedoba acknowledge the seriousness of this problem and the difficulty to resolve it. Awedoba observes that a person with no children has an unstable marriage; an old person without children is treated in the same way as an orphan. A man is better off than a woman, particularly a widow. "Such a person may suffer neglect and rough treatment at the hands of younger children." (Awedoba, *Aspects of Wealth and Exchange*, p.245.) Kazaresam notes that "a sterile marriage runs the risk of ending up in divorce, although sterility alone can often be remedied in other ways than divorce." (Kazaresam, *The Kasena of Ghana*, p.26). A second wife can be taken or in the case of a sterile man, "a brother, (in the broad African sense) can perform the sexual duties and fertilize the wife for him, thus saving the marriage." (*Ibid*, p.27)
8. WFD:25-1-1914.

9. After a baptism in 1922, Christians caused trouble as a result of drunkenness at the celebration (WFD:6-1-1922). Fr. Gagnon wrote in 1956, "Beaucoup de maris sont incapables de contrôler à qui se passe à leurs maisons, parce qu'ils sont sous l'effet de la boisson." (Gagnon, *Moeurs et Coutumes*, p.59). He also complained about the quantity of beer consumed at funerals and how ruinous it was for families. (*Ibid*, p.147). Awedoba supports these observations and argues that alcohol leads to ruin for many if they cannot check their propensity to make prestations with the beer. (Awedoba, *Aspects of Wealth and Exchange*, p.326).

10. In 1907, J.O'Kineally reported from Navrongo "that certain persons are able to cause a man's illness or death by witchcraft." (NAG-A. ADM 56/1/514. "Navarro district", J. O'Kineally, D.C., 1-11-1907). It is the *sampwora*, described in Chapter three who have the power to identify these (Gagnon, *Moeurs et Coutumes*, p.262).

11. Cardinall, *Natives of the Northern Territories*, p.95.

12. The Fathers report a number of occasions on which they said Mass for rain or protection from locust invasion. The first recorded entry in the Diaries, of the Fathers response to the lack of rainfall is made in 1914. They reported, "Nous avons convoqués tous les chrétiens à venir assister à la messe de communion ce matin pour demander de la pluie. Nos prières sont-excucées. Une bonne pluie qui est tombée dan la soirée va relever le mil, qui n'est pas encore desséché." (WFD:13-7-1914) They noted other occasions on WFD:24-10-1929, 26-7-1932, 12-3-1934, 9-5-1934, 15-5-1934, 9-5-1935, 20-6-1937, 25-7-1938, 1-8-1938, 12-6-1944, 3-6-1962. In 1922, the Fathers report "Dans certaine autres quartiers de Navaro, les païens eux-mêmes invitent les chrétiens de se rendre à l'église pour demande de la pluie." (WFD:5,7-6-1922) By the 24 June rain came. In 1934, the Fathers reported good rains throughout the season after the prayers and mass. (WFD:13-6-1934, 30-8-1934 and 3-10-1934).

13. WFD:25-4-1921. They tried to encourage Christians to bring millet as a thank offering to God, but initially this was not very successful (WFD:2-2-1928). It was not until December 1955, that the Fathers reported the first successful harvest festival (WFD:18-12-1955).

14. Gagnon, *Moeurs et Coutumes*, 161. The wearing of clothes became a sign that the person was a Christian. Gagnon pointed out that "la femme ou l'homme qui à un moment donné voulaient abandonner la religion enlevaient leurs habits." (*Ibid*, p.161)

15. Gagnon, *Moeurs et Coutumes*, p.27. It appears to have been widely practised. Kasena regarded it as shameful for a man to sleep with a girl not excised. Fr. Gagnon comments that Christians are not able to participate because of the two sacrifices and the operation is made in public and is indecent.

16. *Ibid*, p.78. Traditionally, giving birth to twins was a serious problem. A twin was classified as a "kyikyiru" and therefore evil. As the mother was not able to feed them, they would "take" the "kyikirru". Gagnon pointed out that Christians had many twins and added "les payens disent que c'est le bapteme (sic) qui les rends normaux." (*Ibid*.)

17. A.Watherston complained about "the absence of strict laws or even customs over matrimony" (NAG-A. ADM 5/1/16. *NT Annual Report*, 1907, p.9). Fr. Morin argued that the lack of Christian girls meant Christian men had to marry "pagan ones." (NAG-A. ADM 56/1/33. Fr Morin to Ag Prov. Com. Nash, 7-6-1912). This was problematic as "the Gurunshi woman possesses quite an unlimited liberty, and she uses and abuses of it (sic)." (*Ibid*) He suggested that wives simply deserted their husbands if displeased with him and remarried shortly after. Someone had reported to Morin that amongst about two hundred families in one section of Navrongo, only four or five women were still with their first husband.

18. NAG-A. ADM 56/1/1933. "Vicaire-Apostolique du Sahara et du Soudan Français à Monsieur le Comm. Général pour les territoires du Nord - Tamale. - Gold Coast." 7-5-1915.

19. NAG-A. ADM. 56/1/33. Ag Col. Sec., to CCNT, 27-11-1915. In September 1916, the White Fathers received the official letter from Captain Armitage telling them they had been recognized as officers to celebrate Christian marriage for all the North (WFD:3-9-1916).

20. WFD:26-1-1921.

21. WFD:1-5-1912, 26-3-1919 and 5-4-1919.

22. In one case a woman visited her family. Her father refused to allow her to return to her husband's house unless he made "les sacrifices d'usage." (WFD:7-9-1911). Martin's wife left him and returned to her parents because she feared the actions of her previous husband, a polygamist and refused to return to Martin (WFD:5-1-1914). The case went before the Post and the woman denied that she had ever married at the mission (WFD:22,24-1-1914). Pierre's wife, Anna returned home and although he tried to bring her back several times, he was not successful. (WFD:4,11,16,22-9-1914, 22,23-1-1915 and 8,14-2-1915). The Fathers finally complained to the Major at the Post who then ordered her uncle and brother to bring her back (WFD:5,21-2-1915). They reported that Philippe's wife left secretly for her parents with her younger sister. The parents were discontented with Philippe because he did not see them enough and because he refused to make sacrifice (WFD:5-10-1919). Jean's wife, a Christian, had been frightened by the threats of her father, had stopped coming to the Mission, stopped wearing clothes and was wearing leaves again. (WFD:27-7-1913 and 10-8-1913). The Fathers also describe the complex case of Oliver and they portray the woman's parents as powerful and manipulative. (WFD:15,26,29,30-10-1915)

23. The Fathers reported in 1920, that Robert Agemo had been married by English law for about a month when he took a second wife (WFD:3-8-1920). For four years the Father Superior warned and threatened Agemo that he would take him to the Post, but Agemo kept the second wife. They reported the case to the Post as they wanted him punished for a few weeks in the interest of the mission. Agemo was found guilty of bigamy and imprisoned for 4 months (WFD:4,5 August 1920 and 10,11,12,25 March 1924, 13,19 June 1924) One Christian took a second wife and appealed to the

administration to be allowed to keep her (WFD:8-4-1913). Another neophyte announced his intention to "tout abandonner et de prendre une seconde femme." (WFD:28-6-1913) Urbain Kagua took a second wife, but as he was already married by English law, Father Barsalou summoned him to send her back immediately or be reported to the Post (WFD:11-7-1917). He sent her away because he feared English law and did "tout en son pouvoir pour jeter du discrédit sur les Pères et les chrétiens et catéchumènes." (WFD:13-7-1917) A Christian whose wife had been in her father's house for a year, took a "concubine", in spite of being counselled and threatened (WFD:22-11-1919). The chief sent her back to her parents, after the Fathers recommendation, but she returned to her husband two days later (WFD:8,10-12-1919).

24. When Alfred took a wife without conforming to the canon of marriage or gaining permission from the girl's parents, he was called to the mission and rebuked. (WFD:18-5-1913) However, he continued to live with the woman without being married and talked about no longer going to the Mission which the Fathers described as a "scandal." (WFD:15,16-8-1913) In another case, the Fathers describe how Eyédio Kadili of Vononia took as a wife a woman who had already been given to a catechumen at Biu (WFD:28-1-1921). He was ordered to send her back to her parents, but the Fathers reported "Malgré toutes les supplications du Père et des chrétiens, malgré tous les motifs surnaturels et temporels, Eyédio ne vaut rien faire. Sciemment, il quitte Dieu pour se tourner vers une créature, ce pauvre, enfant a reçu le baptême à Noël passé." (WFD:4-2-1921.) The Fathers reported other cases of concubinage in 1916 and 1920 (WFD:23-11-1916 and 28-1-1920).

25. However, some Christians did not perceive this to be a problem for themselves as the Fathers wrote that "tous les chrétiens n'ont pas encore rejeté cette coutume païenne; d'où des mésententes dans les ménages." (WFD:25-12-1926)

26. In 1920 they reported that Kokeba gave his daughter to the son of Kakoghse at Vonania in a manner they described as shameful. He set up an ambush with the people of Vononia and she did not realise it was a trap. The Fathers retort "Et voilà ce Kokeba qui ne cessait jamais de dire qu'il ne donnerait jamais sa fille sans avoir pris notre avis." (WFD:27-10-1920). A month later, Kokeba appeared with two others at the Fathers and requested that they give his daughter to their cook (WFD:22-11-1920). The marriage took place.

27. NAG-T. RAT/1B 5. # 45/1935. "Points of Conflict Between Native Custom and Christian Law." 18-12-36 to 5-5-1944. Memorandum from Fr. Morin, 14-12-1936.

28. *Ibid.*

29. *Ibid.* Jones suggested that each DC meet with the Native Authority, record their responses to questions and then read them back. "You should also impress upon the Native Authorities that they have the power to make laws and that if the native law as it now exists is not suitable to present conditions they have the right to alter it." Jones also instructed them to record Native law on divorce. "The desire to become a Christian would not of itself be regarded by our Courts as a sufficient ground for

the grant of a divorce. I understand that by running away three or four times from her husband a woman establishes almost a right to a divorce under native law."

30. The Lawra-Tumu DC sent a report on the marriage and divorce laws among the Lobi, Dagarti and Issalla (NAT-T. RAT/1B 5. DC Lawra to CCNT, 8-4-1938.) The reports were not included in the file. The Navrongo DC indicated that he had a reply ready on the Kasena and Nankani marriage and divorce but was waiting for a meeting of the Federation of chiefs to ratify it before submitting it (NAT-T. RAT/1B 5. DC Navrongo to CCNT 19-9-1938).

31. NAT-T. RAT/1B 5. CCNT W.Jones to Bishop O.Morin, 30-11-1937. Mr Jones asked Bishop Morin to record their version of the native law on marriage to compare with what Administrative officers knew. He stated "I am not prepared to accept their interpretation of native law as correct until I know what it is and have its accuracy tested by references to Native Authorities."

32. NAT-T. RAT/1B 5. Bishop Morin to CCNT, 6-12-1937.

33. NAT-T. RAT/1B 5. CCNT to DC Navrongo, 12-9-1938, 29-12-1938. In December 1938, the DC replied that Fr. Gagnon was in the process of preparing the material (DC Navrongo to CCNT, 29-12-1938). Further reminders were sent in March, June and August 1939 and in February, May, and June 1940 (CCNT to DC Navrongo, 1-3-1939; 1-6-1939; 12-8-1939; 28-2-1940; 1-5-1940; 27-6-1940). The DC responded to the CCNT on 29-12-1938; 22-3-1939; 7-8-1939; 23-8-1939; and 14-3-1940. By July 1940 the DC's response contains a sceptical tone. He stated "The Reverend Father Gaignon (sic) has not completed the notes on Kassena marriage customs. He has told me recently that he does not think he will be able to complete the work this year and I personally doubt it is any use expecting it ever to be completed." (DC Navrongo to CCNT, 6-7-1940).

34. WFD:4-7-1919.

35. Kazaresam, The Kasena of Ghana, p.38.

36. J.Atadana uses this term to describe both burial and first funeral phase (Atadana, Kassena Funeral Rites, p.1).

37. Gagnon, Puissances Occultes, p.75.

38. Kazaresam, The Kasena of Ghana, p.38.

39. Gagnon, Mentalité Paienne, p.77. N.B. In this copy of Gagnon's work there are no accent's marked on any words.

40. When the Fathers made enquiries about why Tamkwore of Saboro was chased out of his house in January 1916, they discovered that not only had the young man been cursed by his father, but "les vieux de Nayaghanis ont essayé en vain de faire prescrire à un fétiche la nécessité de faire des sacrifices sur les tombes des ancêtres de haurent

(sic): le fétiche affirme que les chrétiens de cette case y ont chassé les esprits de leurs ancêtres. "(WFD:6-1-1916) The Fathers interveened and finally the boy was allowed home. (WFD:8,17-1-1916) The Christian message had such an impact in one case that the parents treated their son as if he had died. The Fathers wrote "Depuis ce jour, le père ne voulait plus le voir, et la mère, chaque soir, faisant les lamentations en usage pour les personnes défuntés. Devant une telle opposition, notre catéchumène n'a pas eu le courage de se montrer fidèle disciple de Jésus Christ. Encore une fois, il a mis de côté les insignes du catéchuménat pour reprendre ses amulettes." (WFD:10-10-1920)

41. Gagnon tells the story of Toose whose son died shortly after Toose was baptised. (Gagnon, *Mentalité Paienne*, p.66) Gagnon wrote, "Les paiens triomphaient. Ce baptême, disaient-ils, était la cause du malheur. Pourquoi avoir déplu aux ancêtres? Il (sic) était évident que ceux-ci se vengeaient et que de nouveaux malheurs allaient suivre celui-ci. Il fallait nécessairement revenir aux anciens sacrifices." (*Ibid*, pp.66,67) Toose reacted by saying that Jesus and the Holy Virgin called his child and they had to let him go. He would also do everything to go there as well. He also refused to perform the "seem" ritual for his grandson's child. (WFD:21-2-1916)

42. Gagnon, *Les Puissances Occultes*, p.18 (NB There are no accents marked throughout the text). On another occasion a student witnessed the activities of a "kyikyiri-bengo". He translates this as "le sorcier", but it literally means 'spirit caller'. Two *chichiri* appeared, one speaking Tallensi and the other an unknown language. One *chichira* predicted death would come to the house and he asked for a gift. Gagnon admitted that people really believed the spirits arrived, but he argued they were deceived by people who had travelled and knew several languages. (Gagnon, *Moeurs et Coutumes*, p.221)

43. Kazaresam, *The Kasena of Ghana*, p.57. In 1938, Capt Mothersill explained how prostitution came to Navrongo "in the wake of civilising influences and trade." (NAG-A. ADM 5/1/70. *NT Annual Report*, 1937-38, p.95.) Fr. Gagnon also wrote of prostitutes coming from the coast. He indicated there were about 20 in Navrongo. He claimed that prostitution originated recently and blamed the Muslims for introducing prostitution. (Gagnon, *Moeurs et Coutumes*, p.23.)

44. In 1912, the Fathers report of the growth of and addiction to gambling in the Christian village. Some people had lost considerable amounts of money. The Fr. Superior prohibited it in the village. (WFD:14-11-1912)

45. Kazaresam, *The Kasena of Ghana*, pp.53,54.

46. *Ibid*, p.54.

47. *Ibid*, p.55.

48. Sanon, *Tierce Église*, pp.112-115.

49. *Ibid*, p.119.

50. *Ibid*, p.123. The expression used in Bobo for "church" is the same as was introduced among the Kasena - "God's house." Sanon complains about the translation of the word "church", for it does not evoke either the idea of the family nor community.

51. *Ibid*, p.120.

52. *Ibid*.

53. *Ibid*, p.199.

54. *Ibid*, pp.122,123.

55. Some leaders who had only recently become literate in Kasem made the effort to write down the items addressed to them in Kasem. Of these items, 491 came from leaders in the north and 24 from the Accra area. Out of the 185 PH interviews, 24 did not discuss any personal problems or issues or said they did not have problems. Another 10 initially said they had faced no problems, but then went on to talk about the problems they had faced.

56. This was also confirmed to me by a *nakwe tu* in the area and another Christian.

57. The spirits of the dead have caught (them).

58. In Kasem they say *kaane ba tei bu* meaning "the woman does not own / rule over the child."

59. I also heard this same question asked in other church services, as well as being addressed to me personally.

60. A single Christian woman told me how she feared attending funerals in other areas in case they "caught" her. On one occasion I observed a heated dispute when Christian men attempted to stop non-Christian men from "catching" Christian girls.

61. Adayira spoke of his difficulty finding a wife. People refused to give him their daughter because he did not *kaane jona*. They said, "you don't sacrifice, you don't make funerals." Adayira did not think he would get a wife, but "God is powerful" and he was able to marry a wife (Pers. com., L.Adayira, Chiana, 20-2-1992). In PH interviews a young Christian man told of his difficulty finding a Christian wife in his area. He admitted "the lusts of the flesh controlled me". He said "I was praying but I was weak in my flesh and I couldn't control myself to keep myself for God." When a girl he had been friendly with became pregnant, he decided to marry her because of the anger of her family.

62. All names mentioned in the cases are fictitious.

63. Kazaresam, *The Kasena of Ghana*, p.29. Fr. Gagnon listed the marriage gifts which involved no sacrifice. The Christians had to give in addition - 2 cloths and

beer (Gagnon, *Moeurs et Coutumes*, p.37). Gagnon observed that Christian marriage increased the costs of matrimony and men went to Kumasi to work for the money for their marriage (*Ibid*, pp.37,38). Awedoba also confirmed this in 1985 (Awedoba, *Aspects of Wealth*, p.90).

64. I was aware of this case through personal observation and at least four church members discussed it with me. In PH interviews a woman told how her husband allowed her to attend church. The househead however did not agree and one day beat her after she came out of church.

65. Prah, "The Northern Minorities in the Gold Coast and Ghana," p.312.

66. Pers. com., Pewotigi Alira, Pwalugu, 4-5-1992.

67. This implied they could have then done something about it.

68. There were two examples related to me in personal interviews and I have also observed this happen at a number of burials where Christians are involved.

69. In a PH interview, a Christian stated that the *fulim* is a major problem for a Christian, especially because of the ritual the first born is required to perform. In other church meetings I attended, frequently, people raised questions about what role Christians should play in funerals.

70. This literally means "to cover legs". It is a rite performed in the first phase in which animals are provided for the deceased to take on his journey to *churu* (the place of the ancestors). Atadana (*Kassena Funeral Rites*, p.23) suggests this is performed before the burial. However, I have usually seen it performed after the burial in the Chiana area.

71. These included the *doo*, *choŋa / puŋa*, and *botara guli*. On the last day of the *kwim* the *doo guli* is prepared and a daughter plasters this on the wall of the house. On the last day of the *fulim* (second part of the funeral), *choŋa / puŋa guli* is prepared for the possessions of the man or woman which they will destroy. The *botara guli* is the "orphans" *guli*, which the children take part in.

72. The term *sogo* is used in the Navrongo area. This is where a woman's pots are destroyed at the final stage of her funeral performance.

73. At a prayer meeting a Christian related how she visited her father's house and told her mother that she had become a Christian. Her mother wept and told her not to be baptised as she was the only daughter and if she (the mother) died, the daughter could not perform her funeral. She told her daughter to wait until after her death and funeral performance and then the daughter could go on with her Christianity. The daughter asked the church leader what to do and he responded that they would look for an opportunity to visit the mother.

74. In the PH interviews a widow related how her children were still trying after many years to gain some of her husband's possessions through the courts as everything had been collected by his brother when her husband died.

75. An elder said "*tega kam tete de ye jom mo*" (the land itself is a shrine).

76. The land owner "pours water", to *kaane* the land and says, "collect so that when we sow the food, you will let it rise quickly." (*joŋ se n pa de na dugi wodi kom, se n pa ko zaŋ lela.*)

77. In church services, I observed many requests for prayer for sickness. Church leaders also recorded a number of testimonies about God's protection from serious injury in accidents.

78. Jürgen Zwernemann states that "Any oath sworn by lightning is considered to be heavily binding by all Kasena and Nuna peoples. An oath is sworn, in particular, if someone who is innocent is brought under suspicion of having committed a theft." (J.Zwernemann, "Gewitter und Regen im Glauben der Kasena (Burkina Faso), *Paideuma*, 1989, 35, p.319. Translated from the German) I observed a questioner ask this question: "If a househead calls all the family together and tells them that they want to determine who is a thief in the house or who has done some evil action and therefore everyone is to take part in drinking a mixture of earth and water from a shrine. What should a Christian do? If a person refuses to do this he/she is classed as guilty."

79. Everyone in the house is forced to drink a mixture of water and soil from the *jona*. The substance "attacks" the thief and therefore the thief will refuse to drink it and so everyone knows who is the thief.

80. D.Ray writes that seasonal food shortages are "manifested by a yearly weight loss of approximately three pounds per adult between February and July (D.Ray, "Evaluation of Traditional Rulers as a policy instrument for managing food crisis: the case of northern Ghana," *Genève-Afrique*, 1987, 25 (1), p.11). This is the time of year when farming begins and before harvest comes in. Ray adds that "As many as one-third of the rural population suffer from severe food deprivation." (*Ibid*)

81. J.Goody also points out that amongst the Gonja and other groups in northern Ghana, people have difficulty establishing stores because of their extensive family networks and obligations. This makes it difficult to make a profit as petty trading is highly competitive. (J. Goody, *Comparative Studies in Kinship*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1969, p.165.)

82. During PH interviews some Christians who are accustomed to drinking, related how they struggle in churches with the rigid non-drinking rules. Another Christian pointed out that his in-laws accused him of lack of respect when he did not buy them alcohol at the market place.

83. In PH interviews, similar illustrations were given of the difficulties the early Christians struggled with. For some, their families refused to help them in any way. Peter Atongwo at Abulu experienced this. He had to do everything alone until others who began to follow God's way started to help him. Others pointed out how initially their house people refused them food, especially when they went to church on Sunday. David Azokware experienced this from his family (Pers. com., D.Azokware, Kayoro, 27-1-1992). People said "as you don't work on Sunday, you won't eat on Sunday" or they accused them of being lazy for not wanting to stay in the house and farm. If a Christian refused to catch a fowl for those who wanted to *kaane jona*, people insulted him and called "a white person". Elders deliberately excluded Christians from discussion in the house, especially if the Fathers had performed the man's marriage. Some Christians related present day examples of how they were refused food by their father who claimed when they went to church on Sundays, they did not work. One father accused a Christian of laziness and not wanting to stay in the house and farm.

84. A number of people (both Christians and non-Christians) related this incident to me and a leader requested prayer at a prayer meeting.

85. Okorochoa, *The Meaning of Conversion*, p.137.

86. Similar questions were addressed to me by Kasena Christians in the south of Ghana. "My husband sacrifices often. If I don't eat the food they sacrifice, I don't eat, so what do I do?" "My husband is not a Christian wants to sacrifice. What should I do because he wants me to help him?"

87. Okorochoa, *The Meaning of Religious Conversion*, p.136.

88. Pers. com., P. Abasili, Accra, 28-6-1992.

89. An elder of the Christian's area provided the sheep which was slaughtered on the *tangwam*. They placed a mixture of the soil from the shrine and blood in the horn of the animal and sewed it in leather and put the *kwara* on her neck.

90. *Kanyanchoro* is a person who has the power to transform him or herself into an animal such as a donkey and catch a person's soul.

91. A.F.Walls, *The Significance of Christianity in Africa*, Friends of St.Colm's Public Lecture, Church of Scotland, 1989, p.9.

CHAPTER SEVEN

ELEMENTS OF EMERGING CHRISTIAN THOUGHT AND ACTION AMONG THE KASENA

1. Introduction

The focus of this chapter is to clarify the Kasena perception of Christ and the gospel message today; to understand some of the elements of Kasena Christian thought and action; and to learn what Christian truths Kasena have appropriated and the character of their Christian journey since the introduction of the gospel. Elements of Kasena Christian thought and action are drawn from a number of sources: observing church and community life, songs composed by Kasena Christians, and the themes and content of talks or sermons and prayers. The main source however, is an analysis of Christians' reactions to some of the problems, questions and issues categorised in Chapter six.

(1) Kasena Christian songs

The large number of Kasem Christian songs composed in recent years is a valuable resource for understanding their theology because the songs are natural expressions of what Kasena think and say.¹ As a research tool, they are much less researcher-controlled than interviews. However, there has been no systematic collection made of these songs from all the different church groups. The songs referred to are self-selected and hardly represent the range of those in use, but are chosen to illustrate aspects of Kasena Christian thought, and more significantly the potential for future theological research.

(2) Observation and discussion

Observing activities and listening to discussion in church services and the community played an important role throughout the fieldwork. A number of laity and

church leaders also gave detailed descriptions of how individual Christians and/or the church reacted to problems their members faced. Awedoba reminds us that to be a participant observer of situations where Christians use the services of diviners, malams or medicine men while also requesting Mass or prayer is extremely difficult because it is a sensitive issue.² Christians often fear that others, Christians or non-Christians, will condemn them for using traditional practices, and some carry a sense of shame for having done so.

(3) Problems, questions, issues (PQI) interviews

Fifty-eight problems and questions identified during fieldwork formed the basis for interviewing 127 Kasena Christian men and 68 women. The ideas for these interviews stemmed from studies Fr. J. Kirby undertook among the Anufɔ who also live in northern Ghana, but to the east of the Kasena. In contrast to the Kasena, the Anufɔ have a mixture of two social and religious systems. They have both an "estate" type system composed of "Nobles", "Commoners" and "Muslims" who migrated into the area, and a simple "acephalous" system composed of a subordinate group descended from the autochthonous peoples. They also combine dual religious systems of "Konkomba ancestor-veneration and kin-group-based moral code along with a syncretistic (sic) Dyula-based old Qadiriyya Islam."³ The aspects of Anufɔ religion which are similar to Kasena religious beliefs and practice are ancestor-veneration and the kin-group-based moral code. In Kirby's analysis of Anufɔ religion he strongly emphasizes the way shrines are used in problem-solving and in determining the nature of problems.⁴ Kirby states

Life itself is interpreted as a problem-strewn passage towards ancestorhood and must be carefully negotiated using shrines. Indeed we may say that it is always a problem or misfortune set within the network of relationships that is the central focus and *raison d'être* of their religious thought and action.⁵

He implies that if there were no problems or misfortunes within the network of relationships, their religious thought and action would be without a *raison d'être*. Is problem-solving in reality the central focus of their religion? Okorocha's study on

Igbo concepts of salvation gives us a broader picture of the *raison d'être* of Igbo religious life and thought. It is a search for the power of God to enhance life.⁶

Kirby's thesis led him to question whether the Anufo regarded Christianity as a religion. Christian missionaries entered the Anufo area only during the 1950s, in contrast to their long presence among the Kasena. During the 1960s, the Presbyterian Church recorded more than 1600 baptisms, largely through the work of Rev A. Krass.⁷ Seven years after Krass left, Kirby discovered that few people claimed to still be Christian and many had become Muslims.⁸ Kirby tested the thesis that the Anufo "*never regarded Christianity as a religion*,"⁹ in terms of resolving their daily life problems.¹⁰ He selected 58 problems whose traditional solution involved spiritual entities and surveyed 150 converts to Islam and 100 Christian converts. He concluded that religious conversion had to "entail a change in problem-solving procedures and/or mentality."¹¹ This occurred within Islam, but not in Christianity because "Christianity was never perceived as a religion." In the conclusion of Chapter six, we noted that the Kasena desire to know the Christian regulations for dealing with specific issues and problems. They search for a "key to conduct". But this is only one aspect of their perception of religion. We saw in Chapters four and five the complex range of reasons for conversion to Christianity and that conversion was a process. Many agreed to follow *Wε chona* because a problem was resolved, but they also responded because of the content of the Christian message. There were many Kasena who rejected Christianity. They did not think Christianity provided them with a "key to conduct", but this did not mean that they did not classify it as a religion, even if it was only "white man's religion".

My reasons for replicating Kirby's approach were not because I desired to assess whether or not Kasena perceived Christianity as a religion. Rather my aims were: (i) to assess the value of exploring Christians' questions and problems as one vehicle to understand Christian thought and action, and, (ii) assuming that it is in fact a vehicle, to discover how Kasena Christians react to some of the problems, questions or issues they face.

A number of adjustments had to be made to the approach. Although I selected 58 questions or problems (see Appendix 9),¹² the basis for the selection differed from Kirby's. Forty-five questions stemmed directly from questions or problems presented to the church leaders, 8 were issues I had observed occurring in society¹³ and 5 questions were based on Kasena issues similar to questions Kirby had used for the Anufɔ study.¹⁴ Only Christians were interviewed in this study, as Islam has not had an equivalent influence among the Kasena.¹⁵ Five Christian men from four churches (RC, GN, CP and AOG) administered the interviews to 74 people in Accra and 121 in the Kasena-Nankana District.¹⁶ The interview period was restricted to a month in Accra and one month in the north. Three helpers (one each from Paga, Navrongo, and Chiana) assisted in preparing a Kasem interview schedule and finalising the interview questions to enable the differences in Kasem terminology between the three communities to be considered.¹⁷ Kirby interviewed only a few females "because they are not normally active in ritual problem-solving."¹⁸ It was precisely for this same reason that we endeavoured to interview females. Evidence in Kasena conversion illustrates that women are attracted to the gospel because traditionally they have little direct access to the spiritual realm in any dimension, let alone problem-solving. On the other hand the gospel of Jesus Christ enables them to be directly involved in religious activity, especially related to their problems.

2. Analysing the PQI Interviews: evidence of conversion

Jon Kirby discovered that the answers broadly fit into four categories: "traditional solutions" which involved the use of shrines and their strategies and tactics for problem-solving;¹⁹ "syncretistic solutions" where people used Muslim or Christian forms, but without their content or objective, such as using rosaries or amulets with a traditional intent; "orthodox solutions" where the practice was accepted by the mainstream Christian churches or Islamic teaching; and, "no solution" where the issue was no longer a problem.²⁰ I attempted initially to classify the answers in these four categories which emerged from Kirby's work.

Kasena answers varied enormously and the four categories proved too restrictive. Kirby also acknowledges that many answers do not fit neatly into his categories.²¹ For many questions at least two other groups of answers are evident: syntheist solutions and secular solutions. Syntheist solutions occur where people draw from traditional and/or Christian sources, but without the intention integral to that source, for example, the use of traditional *liri* (without *kaanem*) or the giving of tithes in church to protect their farm.²² Secular solutions are those where the solution involves no recourse to the church, prayer, or any ritual associated with a traditional solution. Most secular solutions are acceptable in churches. In my analysis, the "synthetic" and "syncretistic" solutions are classed together because of the small numbers of those responses, but in reality they are separate. Although the five possible categories are used for classifying answers, there are five questions where the answers do not fit these categories, and so the answers themselves direct the criteria used for their analysis. Furthermore, in some instances what is acceptable as an "orthodox" solution in some mainstream churches is not acceptable as a solution in the Pentecostal and Evangelical churches, for example, praying for the souls of the dead or the giving of alcohol. The results for all questions are in tabular form by topic in Appendix 10.

Out of 53 questions, the majority of Christians chose "orthodox" Christian solutions in 47 questions, although in 11 of the questions it was only by a small margin. These results are markedly different to Kirby's results, where almost every Christian "chose the traditional solution for every problem."²³ The difference is probably due to three factors. First, there has been a much longer history of Christian presence among the Kasena. Second, the widespread influence of the RC church through the teaching of the catechism in schools has meant that many more people are exposed to "Christian" answers. Third, some Kasena had an intensive power experience as illustrated in the Personal History interviews where some individuals expressed total conviction that God's power confronted a major need in their life. They thus now seek to apply the mind of Christ to their problems. The 11 questions with only a marginal majority of "orthodox" solutions are: giving birth to a *chichiru*,

funerals, widow activities at funerals, *dola* sickness, snake bite, insults, house disputes, the *chira* "asking" a person, *chira* angry, a house person accused of being a *chero*, and knowing when to *kaane jona*. A small majority chose a traditional solution to 4 questions and a syncretist solution to 2 questions. Five of these 6 questions relate to marriage issues; the other is beating an elder (majority traditional). Although there are no majority secular solutions, in the questions on pregnancy, birth, child crying, snake bite, exams, and making profit, more than 20 percent of the respondents give secular solutions.

There are a number of distinctions apparent in Kasena Christian reactions to problems, when the solutions are cross-tabulated with the residence of the Christian and the church they are affiliated with. Most Kasena Christians have moved between the north and south at some point in life.²⁴ Where Kasena had spent little time living in the north, problems related to rainfall and farming had little relevance for them. These Kasena, especially some of the women, also struggled to know how to respond to some questions, and it was evident to the helpers that they had little knowledge of even the traditional solutions. Kasena Christians in the south of Ghana however reacted to most questions in a similar manner to northern Kasena, with the exception of the question related to obtaining land. Most people in the south would give money which is not done traditionally in the north.

Church affiliation and teaching influences how some Kasena Christians react to certain problems.²⁵ Among the responses to the question on sudden sickness (23), only members of the RC Church reply that they will baptise the person and pray for them, reflecting RC teaching on baptism. The majority of those who give "traditional" and "syncretistic" or "synthetic" responses come from the RC church and the COLM. This occurs particularly in questions related to *sweri puga*, marriage, funerals, snake bite, and giving birth to a *chichiru*. However, individuals from other churches including AOG, CP, GN, PCG and some of the smaller churches, also give responses in these categories. Members of both AOG and CP churches would pray and "give tithes" to protect their crops. Many of the members of the RC church also give

"orthodox" replies to many questions.

Kirby interprets orthodox solutions, or where an issue is "no problem" to be a sign of "true religious and/or cultural conversion";²⁶ syncretistic solutions mean there is only minimal conversion; and, traditional solutions he assumes shows "no true conversion." However, the use of traditional strategies and tactics for problem-solving is not always an indicator of non-conversion to Christianity. Okorochoa argues that the "persistence of the old values in the mind of the converts is not necessarily indicative of non-conversion, as some would wish to assert."²⁷ Furthermore, the giving of "orthodox" answers does not necessarily mean there has been "true" conversion. If the orthodox solution is simply not to do the traditional solution, there may remain a vacuum in the respondents life, particularly if the person does not perceive that the church or Bible provides a solution. The definition of what is "orthodox" needs to be re-thought. What "mainstream" churches may classify as syncretistic or syncretistic may be an orthodox solution in other churches and vice-versa. Furthermore, their responses may differ at different periods of time.

The range of answers reflects an ongoing process and discourse in the minds of Kasena as they interact with their life and faith. Therefore the five categories are indicators of trends occurring amongst Christians. However, simply to be confined to these categories results in a loss of detail. It is this detail which has greater significance when trying to understand how Christians perceive Christ and the gospel message. In the general analysis we find evidence of a change occurring in the Kasena conceptual map of interaction with the transcendent realm. Prayer has become increasingly important as the vehicle of communication with God. To illustrate this Christian perception, I propose to draw out the main elements of Kasena Christian thought, action and theology apparent in the answers to questions as well as from songs, talks, prayers and general observation.

3. Hearing from and communicating with *Baja We*

(1) Hearing the word from God

In Peter McKenzie's phenomenological study of the practices and beliefs of Christians, he observes that one feature of every religion is revelation, the sacred word, from the Deity.²⁸ In Kasena tradition, *vora* and other specialists provide a route through which people indirectly hear a "sacred word" from the Deity through the *nabaara*, *chira* and *chichiri*. Kasena Christians place great emphasis on hearing the sacred word from God, which is also expressed through a variety of routes.

Within all churches, Scripture is read and Christians are publicly instructed in God's word through a sermon or talk. One speaker encapsulated the notion of the message being from God when he finished his exposition on humility from Philippians 2:1-11 and stated "this is not my talk, but God's."²⁹ I observed from services I attended that across all the denominations both Old and New Testament passages are used, although there is a heavy emphasis on New Testament passages, probably influenced by the fact that only the New Testament is available in Kasem. Some church leaders systematically exegete a passage verse by verse, while others use a thematic approach referring to multiple Scriptures.³⁰ The topics covered in either approach included: Jesus' power, return, sacrifice and suffering; salvation through the blood of Jesus; the Holy Spirit; Satan and his power, prayer; sin; forgiveness; sickness; conversion and belief (*wo-dedoa*); the type of person God chooses; God's help with fear and anxiety; leaving *jona*; afterlife; love; marriage; humility; holiness; fasting; "victorious living"; and evangelising others. A few talks had a strongly legalistic emphasis in which the speaker expounded the *wade* (laws) or *Krista bia chullu* (Christians' 'customs'), especially ceasing to drink alcohol.

God's word is also communicated through learning the creed and set prayers,³¹ Bible studies,³² prophecy³³ and songs. Hearing God's word is not confined to church meetings. The impact of vernacular Scriptures was illustrated in Chapter five. For

some Christians the Bible is their spiritual authority revealing to them the solutions for their problems. While returning from a CP conference in 1988, Symon Bukari was severely injured in a car accident.³⁴ His entire right arm had to be amputated to save his life. Bukari's friends, Christian and non-Christian, had many different views on the accident. Some non-Christians told him it happened because he did not want peace. A few Christian friends claimed that Christ should have saved him in this calamity. Whenever people talked this way, Bukari explained to me, "I prayed over it to see what the Lord had for me." Bukari then added:

I remember having a revelation that Christ was as powerful [now] as he was when John the Baptist told Herodias not to get married to Herod, the husband's brother. As a result, Herod was just annoyed with John the Baptist. While he was in prisons, (sic) well, the Lord could have spared John the Baptist. God could have prevented John the Baptist head from being cut, but the Lord didn't prevent it. John the Baptist was beheaded. They put it on a platter and brought it to Herodias. So I thought really, if God didn't prevent this, what of this. Don't I know that the Lord can even still use me with one hand. He can even use me better. I also remember I read in John 9 I think, about the blind man who was born blind. It wasn't the fault of the mother or the father, neither his fault. But he was born blind that God's work might be seen manifested in him. As a result Christ prayed and healed the blind fellow and he was well. I knew that if the Lord does all these miracles, with one hand [referring to himself], he could use me even better.

Bukari had never written with his left hand before, but he prayed that the Lord would help him and within 2 months he could write with his left hand. He became the District Secretary and Regional Recorder of the CP Church.

There are a number of significant points which arise from Bukari's experience and his reaction to it. First, those who came to him, both Christians and non-Christians, implied there was a "spiritual" causal factor. Second, Bukari reacted within a spiritual framework. He prayed to the Supreme Being. Prayer was his "medium" for guidance "to see what the Lord had for me." He by-passed the *voro* who would formerly have been consulted on his behalf to discover what the spirit realm "had for him". Prayer is a much riskier option, as none of the reassuring mechanics of divination are visibly available to assist him find the solution and

provide therapeutic release.³⁵ Third, Bukari discovers the solution within the framework of both his new Christian experience and his former way of resolving problems. The solution incorporates both spiritual and physical action. Bukari discovers his solution through a "revelation", but one related to what he has learned from Scripture. The revelation results in physical action. He is highly motivated to use his left hand and there is psychological peace. This use of his left hand again incorporates prayer - the interconnection between the physical and spiritual realms. Therefore Bukari uses prayer to apply the mind of Christ to his problem and this has replaced the traditional divination process and subsequent efficacious *kaanem*.

The importance of Scripture in the resolution of Bukari's problem is not unique. For many Kasena Christians the Bible has become an oracle: it is their source of divine inspiration and revelation.³⁶ Many Protestant churches stress the rote learning of Scripture verses as part of the way to remember how to respond to issues. One Kasem song based on Ephesians 6: 12 and 17 illustrates this:

<i>Á pa na se de ke de Teiru Yezu wom lei,</i>	Let us thank our Lord Jesus,
<i>Se o pae debam chuchwei,</i>	For he gave us a spear [sword],
<i>we de ta jaŋ dede se de duna bam daga</i>	we wrestle much for our enemies are many
<i>O chuchwei dem yere mo ye</i>	His spear's name is 'memory verses', ³⁷
<i>memory verses,</i>	
<i>we de ta jaŋ dede</i>	We wrestle greatly for our enemies are
<i>se de duna bam daga.</i> ³⁸	many.

At a child dedication in a family home, a group of singers composed a song based on the story of Abraham and Sarah to illustrate how God and not the *tangwam* gives children.³⁹ Other Scriptural themes emphasised in songs include: Jesus suffers because of us; do not fear because Jesus has taken fear away; and God's gifts.

<i>Yezu yaara debam ŋwaane,</i>	Jesus suffered because of us,
<i>Yezu duri de ŋwaga,</i>	Jesus pities us,
<i>Yezu yaara debam ŋwaane,</i>	Jesus suffered because of us,
<i>Yezu de n lei.</i> ⁴⁰	Thank you Jesus.

<i>Foone ba jege ne, (rep)</i>	Fear doesn't have me,
<i>a tɔge Yezu Krista kɔga,</i>	I follow Jesus Christ's back,
<i>foone ba jege ne.</i> ⁴¹	fear doesn't hold me

Ye ta n goona Wε pera (rep)
Wε mo jege pεεra dedε,
*ye ta n goona Wε pεεra.*⁴²

Do not belittle God's gifts
God has many gifts,
do not belittle God's gifts.

(2) The sacred word - to the Deity

a. Prayer: aspiring to "conquer the world"⁴³

In response to revelation from God, Kasena Christians seek to communicate with God primarily through prayer. It is the main reaction in "orthodox" solutions, occurring in 35 out of 58 questions.⁴⁴ This practice of praying for a wide range of needs is reflected in church services; prayer and thanks cover almost any topic from confession of sin to adoration of God, and requests vary from peace in the Government of Ghana to a new hoe. Many of the Pentecostal and Evangelical churches hold "all night prayer meetings". At one such GN meeting, the leader presented 34 different issues for prayer during the night and these did not include the personal requests which other people presented.⁴⁵

David Shank argues that the first major stage in the Christian religious itinerary is dominated by a shift from sacrifice to prayer.⁴⁶ In Chapter three, we noted that *kaanem* incorporates prayer, but traditionally, only househeads, ritual specialists or men had the right to pray before God through the ancestors and spiritual powers of shrines. This exclusive right to prayer has been shattered, for now all Kasena Christians including women and children can participate in prayer. This inclusive access is particularly noticeable in the way some prayer meetings are conducted. When an item is mentioned for prayer, everyone prays simultaneously out loud for the item. Furthermore, the range of concerns which traditionally were taken to the Supreme Being through the ancestors and spiritual powers are now taken before *Baga Wε* in the name of Jesus. C.Okorocho describes prayer as "a theological exercise whose primary concern is the realisation of salvation as summed up in the religious system within which one prays."⁴⁷ For Kasena salvation is linked with *yazura* (health and well-being). They seek for *yazura* in prayer. A church leader announced "If we pray, God will be happy with us. *Yazura* will be with all Christians."⁴⁸

In answers to questions, Kasena often unconsciously describe the nature of the prayer which gives deeper insight to their perception of problems they face. The main Kasena Christian response to threats from thieves or a jealous person is to pray for protection and / or for God to reveal who the person is.⁴⁹ The prayer for protection illustrates the strength of belief in the destructive spiritual power of those who are jealous.⁵⁰ According to Awedoba, "Kasena-Nankana believe that wealth excites envy and jealousy and drives others to work for the rich man's downfall."⁵¹ Most Christians also pray when they have bad dreams and many would ask God to reveal the meaning, or would ask Christian friends about it.⁵² Prayer is definitely not confined to church premises. Many Christians pray or ask church leaders to come and pray for the land when building a new house.⁵³ A few Christians specify the purpose is to "cleanse the site" or "bind the evil spirit on the land".

Prayer is often interconnected with practical action, particularly to overcome a problem. People pray over seeds before planting them; "pray and study hard" to pass exams; and, "fast", "look for work", "qualify", "make contacts" and "work hard" to find good work.⁵⁴ Most people pray and work hard to gain wealth or make a profit. However, some "pray" and "pay tithes" or "give alms" in order to gain profit in their work,⁵⁵ while others pray and "play lotto".⁵⁶ Fasting is often closely linked with prayer. Many churches encourage Christians to fast. Members of AOG churches mentioned "fast" in 19 problems; CP members in 16 problems. Only occasionally did people in other churches mention fasting.⁵⁷ The AOG, CP, GN and Broken Yoke churches also set aside specific days when members corporately fast, and they come together to pray specifically about issues which concern them.

Prayer for sickness is often accompanied with physical action and in some churches, people come to the front where selected church members "lay hands" on them while they pray. Some Kasena hesitate to "lay hands" on others because they fear the transmission of the sickness to them. One church leader emphasized that "if a Christian is not strong and prays and lays hands on a sick person, the sickness could pass into themselves. They have to pray in the Holy Spirit." A Christian woman

related during her interview how she was bitten by a snake shortly after she became a Christian. Christians prayed for her and then sent her to the health post. However, there was no serum. They all prayed for her there and again when she reached home. They refused to use any Kasena *liri*. She concluded by asking "Is it not only God that I am praying to and he removed my sin?" Although she had not used *liri*, she interpreted as the cause of the snake bite her own doing wrong.

b. Oath taking

Oath taking is another form of communication with the spirit realm and the Deity in all religions.⁵⁸ It is actively practised by Kasena for many reasons, as illustrated Chapters three and six. Kasena Christians were asked:

- (a) If you swear an oath with a *tangwane* and then you become a Christian, what will you do?
- (b) For this reason do you have to take the mouth?
- (c) If you do not take the mouth on top of the *tangwane*, will the *tangwane* trouble you?

Their answers varied considerably as shown in Table 7, but they illustrate that Christians strongly believe oath taking is active communication with the spiritual realm and for many Christians, pre-Christian oath-taking requires communication again with the Sacred after conversion - but in the form of prayer rather than taking another oath. Others, however, felt that the oath had to be fulfilled. Some people contradicted themselves between the first and subsequent two answers. More significantly, in four groups of answers to part (a), some answered parts (b) and (c) positively, while others answered negatively. This is particularly noticeable in the answer "ask God to forgive" or "confess", where 12 replied positively to the latter two questions and 23 replied negatively. Some Christians would pray to ask God to take that oath for them or they believed that Christ's death and "blood" cleansed the oath away. On the other hand, 35 people state that they would ignore the oath and take no action.

Table 7. Christians' reactions to oath taking prior to belief.

Part A	Parts B, C		DK	Tot	Tot
RESPONSES	Y-Y	N-N		#	%
Go and remove mouth*	19	2		21	10.8
Someone take for me, fear - church pray	7	1		8	4.1
Run, harm me	-	1		1	0.5
Fulfil before become Christian	3	-		3	1.5
Pray forgiveness - someone take it for me	2	-		2	1.0
Ask God forgive/confess	12	23		35	17.9
Pray	7	13		20	10.3
Ask leader pray, question difficult		2	2	4	2.1
Pray, ask God take for me, Christ paid debt, washed by Jesus blood		16		16	8.2
Pray - destroy all <i>jona</i>		2		2	1.0
God power greater than <i>tangwane</i> , sin to take, pray or do nothing		17		17	8.7
Forget/leave it, not go there again		35		35	17.9
Leave it, if think about it, it disturbs		4		4	2.1
Take oath with God		1		1	0.5
Baptism washes sin away		1		1	0.5
Not believe this, not mind, not make oaths, never done*		19		19	9.7
Don't know	1	1			1.0
TOTALS	51	138	2	191	97.8

Notes: No answer - 4;

* Four of those who stated that the person should go and fulfil the oath did not answer Parts B and C consistently. Two said "yes-no", one stated "no-yes" and one stated "yes-DK". One person who had never taken an oath, answered "N-DK"

Christians were also asked how they would respond if asked to "*pwe chira*" (drink on the *chira*) because of a sickness or death in the house. If the person refused, they would be accused of troubling the person or causing their death. It is therefore a test of innocence. Sixty percent said they would "refuse to drink", but many gave no indication of doing anything else.⁵⁹ The "orthodox" Christian response would be to refuse to *pwe chira* because of the *kaanem* and shrine. Christians do not always react in this way. Kofi, a Christian, related his experience to me and others confirmed it. The elders of an area called Kofi and accused him of poisoning a man who had died suddenly. Although he denied this and prayed constantly, the people in the area

talked against him. Finally, the elders ordered him to go "on top of the *tangwam*." They said that if he had poison to kill people, then the *tangwam* should kill him. They ordered every house to bring a fowl and Kofi to do the same. Kofi refused saying, "I don't cut fowls necks, as I accepted Jesus. If I kill, I only kill and eat." The elders refused and took him to the *tangwam* with about 40 people. The elders killed the fowls on the *tangwam* and took an oath that if Kofi really poisoned the man, the *tangwam* should kill him within three days. They then gave Kofi the "water" in a calabash to drink. He told me

I took it and called Jesus name. I said, 'I heard Jesus God word and I follow Jesus with one stomach and I am in this place and I haven't done anything wrong. I follow Jesus and people don't like me. I gave myself to God. I would have refused to drink the water. As they have put me in the middle of them, if I refuse to drink the water, it will mean I have done it.' So I prayed to God there, and then I took the water and drank.

He concluded, "It's now four years and I am still alive and I am a Christian. I now believe that God really has power. If a human being wants to do something to you and God doesn't agree, it's useless."

4. Christian thought and action in the *sogbo*, community and church

In Chapter three we saw how Kasena religious beliefs are closely tied to the family structure and community. Both family and community form a "sacred" community which bears and transmits the "sacred" to their members.⁶⁰ Although the Kasena have no specific rites of adult initiation, there are three rituals of incorporation into the family as a socio-religious entity - birth/naming, marriage and death. Conversion to Christianity places a Kasena in a second family - the Church - which becomes the bearer and transmitter of the gospel of Jesus Christ, but this does not mean that the Christian is cut off from the human family.

(1) Pregnancy, birth and naming

Fr. Kirby found that among the Anufo, almost no "Christian solutions involved

compound members let alone members of the outside community."⁶¹ When Christians were asked about *sweri puga* for first pregnancy, some Christians would communicate with their *sɔŋɔ tiina* by attempting to explain their reasons for not performing the rite. However, no one mentioned any further involvement of the *sɔŋɔ*. Fr. Ayaga contrasts the Catholic baptismal rite with the traditional naming ceremony. He argues that naming actually begins at the time of conception, through the *sweri puga* rites. He therefore advocates that the rite of baptism also begin at the time of conception. Fr. Ayaga suggests that a Priest or mature Christian "should visit or bring the pregnant women to the church and pray with and for them."⁶²

In the GN church, church leaders encourage newly wed couples to inform the church leader when the wife first becomes pregnant and that they discuss together the issue with the *sɔŋɔ tiina*. In two examples where this has occurred, a church leader officially announced the pregnancy in a church service, explained what the couple were to do, and used Scripture to show "how things happened".⁶³ They prayed for the couple and allowed them to "share testimony".⁶⁴ The church leaders and the husband also visited the girl's fathers house with the church leader of that area. They greeted, explained the purpose of the visit, announced that the daughter was pregnant and explained why the couple would not *sweri puga*. The church also asks nurses to teach the young woman the right things to eat. As a result non-Christian househeads are now coming to church leaders to ask them what they should do in various circumstances, as when a Christian in their house faces an issue such as pregnancy.

Most of the Christians who gave orthodox responses to the birth question, indicated they would ask the church to pray for or dedicate the child.⁶⁵ In the AOG Kasena churches, children are dedicated during church services. A talk is given from a relevant Bible passage and the Pastor questions the parents as to whether they will raise the child in the "way of God". They pray for the child and then take a "love offering" to help the parents.⁶⁶ In GN Kasena churches, the approach varies. Sometimes child dedications are held in the family house with family and Christians invited to attend. A service is conducted and the child is dedicated to God with the

parents. Gifts are given such as money and soap, and all are invited to share in a meal.⁶⁷ On other occasions children are dedicated in churches, but often members of the extended family are not present. Some do provide food on these occasions. There are therefore increasing indications of involvement with households and church leaders visiting houses to talk with family.⁶⁸

Fr. Ayaga suggests adaptations to the Catholic practice of the rite of baptism such as: the Priest visiting the parents prior to the baptism to instruct them and others in the community about their responsibilities for the child; inviting the traditional elders and the extended family to the baptismal ceremony because "the child belongs more to them than even the parents."⁶⁹ He emphasizes the role of prayer and stresses the renunciation "of the most fearful evil spirits among the Kassena and other practices that do not conform to the Christian faith."⁷⁰ He recommends that a common meal be shared as in the traditional ceremony and prayers of thanksgiving be offered.

If a child is born as a *chichiru*, this problem is traditionally resolved at *sogo* level. A lower percentage of Christians gave "orthodox" replies than in the other birth related questions.⁷¹ Even among orthodox replies it is clear that to some a child could be a *chichiru*, especially in a response such as, "pray, keep the *chichiru*" or the church leader "will collect the *chichiru*". However, more than a quarter of the respondents indicate that a *chichiru* is not a problem to them. Some state clearly that to God there are no *chichiru*. There are certain clan-settlements, especially in Paga, where entire households no longer identify children as *chichiru*. Fr. Atadana points out that in his own clan in Navrongo "no such evil spirit can incarnate",⁷² all children are considered normal, and killing abnormal children is forbidden.

(2) The role of *sogo tiina* and church in Christian marriage

The early missionaries were so concerned about Kasena marriage that they demanded legislation as the solution to the problems they perceived. Today, however, the marriage-related questions have the least distinctive "orthodox" Christian

responses.⁷³ This has major implications for the Catholic Church which recognises only canonical marriage as valid for Catholics. Kazaresam estimated that about 80-90 percent of adult Catholics "cannot practice their religion fully because they are not married in the church."⁷⁴ He questions why the Church does not recognise the validity of customary marriage for Christians.⁷⁵

Marriage by capture is unacceptable both traditionally and in the church. However, more than 50 percent of Christians admitted that they would marry by capture, particularly if the woman's parents disagreed with the proposed marriage.⁷⁶ Kazaresam suggests that some Christians hold double standards. They resist family interference in the beginning phases of their marriage so long as it is to their advantage. However, if they face a marriage crisis such as sterility or polygyny, they defer to pressures from both extended families and so the "unity of husband and wife as advocated by the Bible for a Christian family is often menaced in the name of the extended family system which emphasizes the lineage and its perpetuation through the couple."⁷⁷ A woman's extended family can exert great pressure on the husband of their daughter. If a woman's parents call her home because her Christian husband refused to *kaane jona* in their house, 30 percent more men than women said the husband should agree with her parents to *kaane jona*. Some men would rather agree and keep her than face the risk of the wife returning home (Appendix 10, Table 13).

Among those who become Christians, but have non-Christian partners, men appear to rely on coercion to convert their partner to a far greater extent than women, which reflects a continuity of thinking concerning their traditional roles.⁷⁸ Another situation which causes a dilemma for Christians occurs when a woman leaves her husband, he remarries and then the first wife wants to return to him. When Christians were asked what to do in this situation, equal numbers of people gave the traditional response of accepting the woman back and the "orthodox" response of refusing to accept her back (see Appendix 10, Table 10).

According to Fr. Kazaresam, the early Administration exaggerated when they

described the instability of Kasena marriage. He argues that had officials studied marriage more carefully they "would have learned that it is a process and not until a certain point is marriage ratified."⁷⁹ The ratification occurs after a series of gifts are made and conditions met between the kin of both the bridegroom and the bride.⁸⁰ The point at which the marriage is legalized varies between Navrongo and Chiana.⁸¹ If gifts are not given, the woman may be called home until the matter is settled between the two families.⁸² Kasena marriage allows for divorce, but "most customary marriages do not end in divorce."⁸³ Kazaresam questions, "at what stage of the process can one insert the Christian form of marriage which, once performed, is indissoluble?"⁸⁴

Most of the Protestant churches encourage Christians to marry by "Christian marriage" and also to give some of the traditional gifts. The variation of answers in the *kadiri* question reflects a lack of consensus amongst churches and between churches and community chiefs and elders about what gifts are necessary for ratification of the marriage with respect to the families. Many churches conduct "marriage blessings" in which vows similar to those of the official "wedding" ceremony are taken (Figure 28). In GN Kasena churches the couple are asked to *tiŋ ni de Wε* ("put down mouth with God").⁸⁵ The full Kasem text (and English translation) are in Appendix 11. The vows reflect the Kasena context. The questions addressed to the husband and wife include:

Promises (oaths) with God (Man)

If God helps you (.....), will you take this woman so that she is your wife?

1. Will you promise with God that you will agree to love her like Jesus loves you?
2. Will you agree to respect and honour her?
3. Will you agree to keep and care for her even if she becomes blind?⁸⁶
4. Will you agree that you will give food and clothes to her?⁸⁷
5. Will you agree that you will not beat her or treat her harshly?
6. Will you agree to keep her even if she does not give birth?
7. Will you agree that you will not go out wanting other women or sleeping with them?
8. Will you agree that you will not marry an additional wife?
9. Will you agree that you and she be together for ever until it reaches the time that death will separate you?



Figure 28. Francis Kupoe officiating at a "Marriage Blessing" at Saga Good News Church.

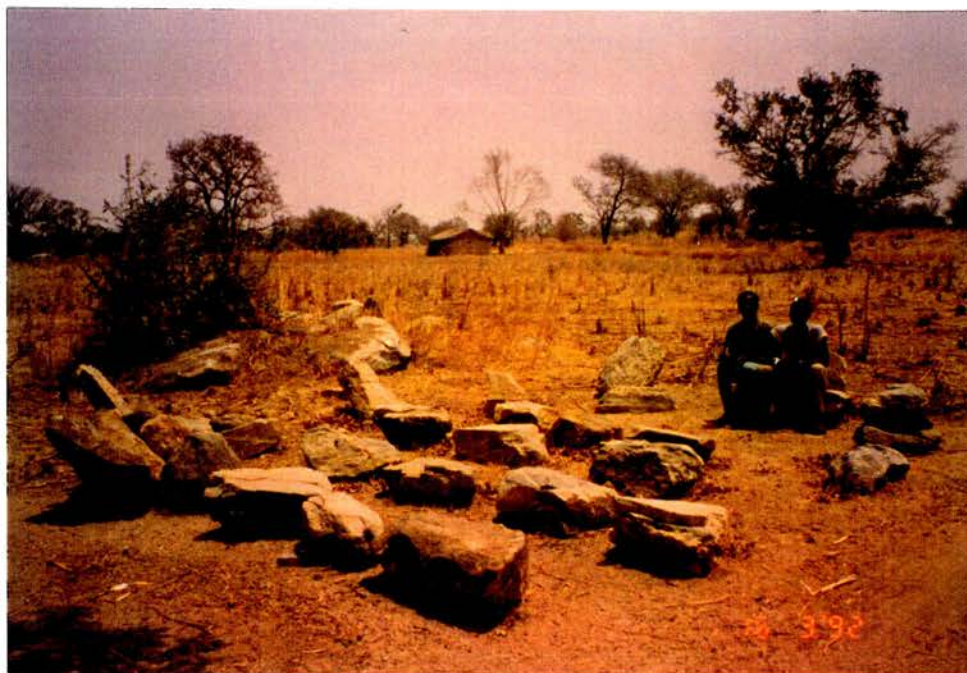


Figure 29. The first site of Abulu Good News Church (foreground) with the new church in the background.

Promises (oaths) with God (Woman)

If God helps you (.....), are you ready to take this man so that he is your husband?

1. Will you promise with God that you will respect and agree that he sees over you?
2. Will you agree that you and he will remain together even if his sight goes or he is not well?
3. Will you agree that you and he will be there together even if he is poor and he can not buy cloth for you?
4. Will you agree to be together even if you do not have children together?
5. Will you agree that you will not run and go to your father's house or run away and get lost?
6. Will you agree that you will not go outside wanting men or sleeping with them?
7. Will you agree that you will not leave your husband and go out to marry another man?
8. Will you agree that you and your husband will be there forever until it reaches the time that God will allow death to separate you?

(3) The role of *sɔŋɔ tiina* and church in funerals and widows rites

When Christians were questioned about funeral practices less than 50 percent gave "orthodox" responses indicating that they were not involved with any activities associated with *kaanem* or that they refused to attend.⁸⁸ Christians' opinions on a widow's activities at her husband's funeral also varied. Less than half gave "orthodox" replies and three-quarters of these stated that a widow should not do any of the traditional practices.⁸⁹ The possible consequences for a widow refusing to participate in the rituals are referred to on page 287. However, this does not deter some Christian women from refusing to go through the ritual because of their beliefs about their relationship with Jesus. The Christian woman referred to in Chapter six reasoned that to *swɛ jooni* "shows that I pour fire on myself and his [God's] son is with me... it shows that I use shame and put it on his [God's] child ... It's not only my head I'm pouring on." She refused to go out and beg because "God doesn't want his child to go out begging ... and wearing leaves ... I know that if I do that I will bring shame on God and he will go back from my back." When the Prophet Harris preached along the Gold Coast and Ivory Coast between 1914 and 1916, he forbade funeral rites

which required women to appear "practically naked and with the heads shaven."⁹⁰ G.Haliburton credits Prophet Harris' with "respect for the dignity of womanhood",⁹¹ but one wonders if Harris too had a concern to not bring "shame on God."

The distribution of answers in the funeral questions, reflect the ongoing debate as to what Christians should do about death and funerals. Even the Kasena Catholic priests vary in their opinions. Fr. Atadana argues that the last two phases of the funeral rites pose serious problems for Christians and therefore, a Christian can not participate totally. He suggests the question be asked "do we Christians believe that the dead must go through these three phases before entering the ancestral world?"⁹² If the answer is affirmative, then, he contends, it contradicts the creed. He suggests that "either Christians go against their faith and perform the funeral fully, or they make a Christian celebration in remembrance of the dead."⁹³

Fr. Kazaresam assesses the impact of the total rites. He argues that Kasena funeral rites honour the dead, prepare them for their entry into the next world, and open a way for the heirs to inherit property. Those who do not perform the rites do not inherit, and some lose their social positions in the family.⁹⁴ He perceives that the greatest problem church leaders face is not to let people see "the Christian message as a purification of their traditional religious beliefs."⁹⁵ He suggests that Christians and clergy participate in the ancestral cult or traditional funeral rites to "appreciate their values".⁹⁶ However, he does not elaborate what he means by "participate".

Fr. Abasi examines the role of the *bayaaro*⁹⁷ (gravedigger) whom he describes as a "transitional figure mediating between two 'rooms', life and death."⁹⁸ He is critical of the burial procedures introduced by the missionaries and the use of uninitiated *bayaa*.⁹⁹ Abasi describes the power of the bathing ritual to become a *bayaaro* as a "transitional and transformative ritual."¹⁰⁰ He claims that

Since death brings disorder to the society in its totality, it is only the person who has concentrated order in himself who can deal with this disorder. It is the *bayaa* who through the initiation has acquired this order. By appealing to the cosmos, ancestors and publicly demonstrating his willingness by going through the required rites, order is brought about in himself.

Abasi's views on the source of "order" and "power" being only gained through the performance of the required rites is strongly contested by some Christians. In 1983, a new Christian related to me how he had been initiated as a *vayaga* as well as having other protective *liri*. He stated "I used my hands to make it and I also used my hand to destroy it because now I get my power from God." This Christian has continued to help dig graves and bury people, but refuses to bathe in the protective *liri*, because he claims God is his protection. He perceives God as his source of power and order. Furthermore, he has encouraged other uninitiated Christians to help with the burial.

Many Protestant churches (CP AOG and GN) encourage Christians to inform their family that they wish Christians to bury them. The success of this depends on what the Christian communicates to his or her family.¹⁰¹ Even if Christians do bury Christians in their household vicinity, some unresolved questions remain. Why do family members still take soil or clothing and perform a full traditional burial, including digging a grave close to where the Christian was buried? Is this because they consider their relative has not been properly buried? Or is it fear of the *chira*? Do non-Christians feel they have been excluded from the right they have to grieve for their relative? When Christians do bury a Christian, what compassion do they show family members by caring for them and allowing them to express their grief? How does the church help family members cope with the fear of the *chira*? The position of a widow and her children also remains somewhat ambiguous. Who is responsible to care for the children of a Christian and what role does the church play in this?

(4) Living with *sɔŋɔ tiina* or building your own *sɔŋɔ*

Several men asked church leaders whether as Christians they should build their own house. A group of church leaders discussed these questions and argued that

Christians should neither be forced to build their own compounds nor to stay in the family house. They advised Christians who have elderly parents to look after them so they may recognize God. One man stated, "if you move out, people do not see how you stand in bravery with suffering. You are like a picture."

One characteristic of Christians' reactions to problems which traditionally are the responsibility of the *sogbo*, is to refuse to take part in ritual or not to do anything. This was the predominant response to three questions: whether to *sweri puga*,¹⁰² a man's father bringing the *voro* to build his *yugu we* because of his accident¹⁰³ and the inheritance rights. The inheritance question reveals an air of resignation in the replies of 130 people who state that they will "not *kaane*" or "leave for them" (either the elders or other family members). These replies imply Christians accept that the land and cattle are irrevocably linked with the *nabaara* and the *jona*. No reply shows evidence of thinking through the relationship of God to the land.¹⁰⁴ This question has major implications for the church because some men leave the church when they become househead. This is very evident in the older churches. In newer churches however, some baptised members now "sit in their house" because they have taken over the senior position.

(5) The Christian "family": church members and the role of encouragement

Church members or leaders are called to help resolve problems, such as sickness, barrenness and bad dreams, where traditionally househeads or family members would have taken the responsibility.¹⁰⁵ Some churches attempt to help women who have no children understand their relationship to God and involve them in a practical church ministry. One woman stated "I don't know what I have done and God has refused to give me a child." Her church helped her by teaching her that children are a gift from God. She added, "If God does not give, you can't force to have [a child] ... You can't go to the *voro* or for *liri* so that they will collect a child for you. If your time is not yet God won't give you." Church leaders meet with her and husband on a monthly basis to pray for them. Another illustration of Christians

encouraging each other is in the case of a Christian who spoke of his psychological struggle after he became seriously ill and nearly died. Although friends sent him to hospital, when he returned home people told him that he had been afflicted with the illness because "I refuse to *kaane* my mother". He was very troubled and thought of stopping following God's way, but another Christian came and encouraged him.

Christian support and encouragement creates a family type network which partially fills the vacuum when Christians feel they are not able to accept the solutions their own family offer. In 1952 the RC church organised retreats at different locations including Chiana and Katiu.¹⁰⁶ They aimed to unite Christians in each area and to help in "le developpement de la famille chrétienne."¹⁰⁷ However, this family function must also be spontaneous in order to support Christians as they face problems.

5. Sacred space, natural objects and the environment

Peter McKenzie writes that "Sacred space is a primary apprehension of religious man. It has to do with his perception of the world, of how it is founded, constituted and ordered."¹⁰⁸ Kasena traditionally associate sacred space with the *tangwana* and *jona* and rooms affiliated with specific shrines such as the rain or certain *liri*. All Kasena Christians endeavour to designate a specific place for worship and Christian activity. Their reasons for location are usually practical rather than the sacredness of a location *per se*.

(1) *Wε diga*: the House of God

Many Christian groups initially meet under a tree or in a school room until they are able to build a small mud block building with a thatch roof or afford more expensive materials (Figure 29). In contrast to the early years, most Kasena Christians now construct their buildings without external assistance.¹⁰⁹ The COLM are the only group to refer to their building as a "Temple", and they require that people remove their shoes prior to entry. Most buildings have little or no interior decoration.

However, there are two exceptions. COLM Temples place posters of Christ above the altar. The RC Cathedral in Navrongo, which is the last remaining mud Cathedral in Ghana, is richly decorated (Figure 30).¹¹⁰ In 1972 Mgr K. Avereire arranged for seven Nankani women from Sirigu and two art students from Navrongo to decorate the interior using traditional colours on designs of religious figures and African scenes.

(2) Open space

Each COLM Temple has a "Mercy Ground" adjacent to it, in which is located a cross where people do "spiritual exercises" and pray (Figure 31).¹¹¹ They also regard hill tops as sacred places where they place a cross and go there for prayer, fasting and meditation.¹¹² Other groups such as the CP and Broken Yoke foundation meet in the forest areas adjacent to Navrongo for times of prayer and fasting. Both groups at present meet in government buildings and so the bush areas are a convenient location for extensive times of prayer.¹¹³

(3) Christian attitudes towards food and natural objects

There are both foods and objects in the environment which are *chullu* (taboo). Christians were asked what they would do about food which Kasena traditionally forbid a person to eat. Fifty-three percent would eat *chullu* food and 38 percent would not eat the *chullu* food because of fear of the consequences of doing so.¹¹⁴ Sometimes Christians act because they believe they are no longer bound by their *chullu*. It is *chula* to chop down certain trees, unless ritual *liri* is applied because of the spiritual powers associated with the tree. A Christian needed wood for his garden. Few trees remained close to his house, except for a tree which the ancestors forbade people to cut. If they did, something evil would happen to them. The Christian did not entertain this fear. A non-Christian warned him that the tree should only be cut down if the *liri tu* performed necessary ritual. The Christian consulted others and then cut it down. While trying to carry a large, crooked piece of wood on his head, the wood slipped and injured his neck. He attended the clinic, but also requested prayer for



Figure 30. Navrongo Cathedral, the only remaining mud Cathedral in Ghana. To the right, a small round thatched mud hut erected in 1981 to commemorate the first small chapel in Navrongo.

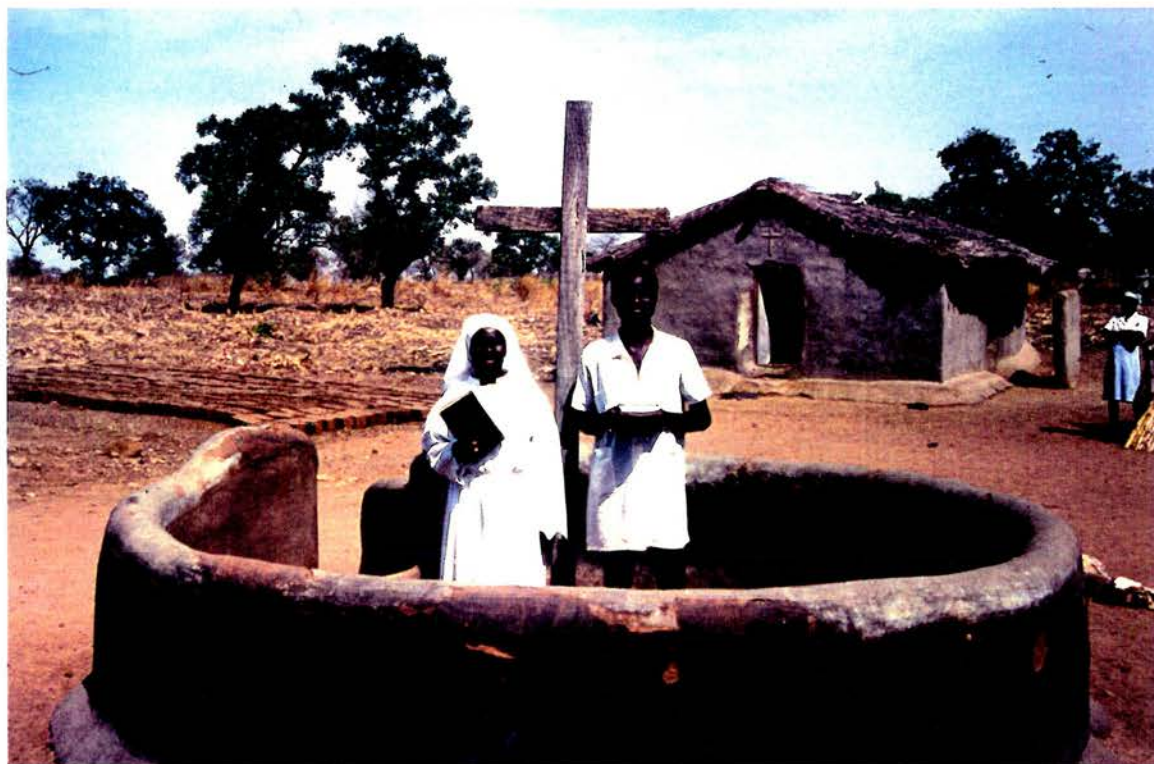


Figure 31. The "Mercy Ground" of the COLM church.

courage in a prayer meeting because "the non-Christians say, maybe we Christians don't fear, but look at what happens when you do something." He commented "that too can be the work of the devil".

On another occasion, a Christian begged me to buy him a chain saw. He told me he did not need to fear the trees close to his home which his fathers said were *chullu*, because he was a Christian. No one else would cut them down and the chain saw would help him to do it quickly. He could make charcoal without having to walk far to the bush. The only problem was that these *chullu* trees were the main trees left in the vicinity of his home, providing shade and conserving soil. He no longer associated the trees with anything spiritual nor considered his responsibility as a Christian to manage creation.

Some Christians use *liri* associated with healing, but will not *kaane* for the *liri* though this was traditional practice. In a church service a woman asked if she should take a fowl to collect the *liri* for a particular sickness. The church leader told her "Christians do not do this", but he added she could collect the same leaves and cook them because "God gave the leaves". On another occasion a church leader told me his family house has traditional snake *liri*. When a snake bit his child, he collected the *liri* but did not *kaane*. He rubbed it on his child's leg. He stated "I prayed and God helped. It finished."¹¹⁵

Traditionally, community leaders such as the *doa tu* (rain guardian), *tangwam tu* and/or the chief perform ritual for inadequate rainfall. Most Christians indicated that they would pray if rain did not fall. Some would even fast or ask for Mass.¹¹⁶ No one suggested any community involvement in the prayer nor have I ever observed churches calling for community involvement in prayer prior to rains beginning. Prayer is usually requested in hindsight, when they are delayed or too abundant.

6. Christian thought and action related to the spirits of the dead and spiritual powers

The Kasena clearly distinguish between the *chira* and other spiritual powers or agents such as *chera* who manipulate powers. Christians were asked what they would do if they were in danger from the powers of the *chira*, *chera* or someone using *dola liri* against them.¹¹⁷ The five sets of answers are summarised in Table 8.

Table 8. Christians' reactions to personal threat from *chera*, *chira*, and *dola*

Responses	<i>Chera</i> catch (18)	<i>Chira</i> anger (41)	<i>Chira</i> ask (8)	<i>Dole dola</i> (35)
Not believe/not exist	10.3	16.4	24.6	12.3
Uncertain if exist/do that	14.8	13.3	3.6	-
Immune from	11.2	7.1	22.0	3.1
Not immune Protect/treat	62.7	54.0	46.7	77.4
Orthodox	(44.2)	(33.0)	(25.1)	(41.0)
Synthetist	(11.8)	(11.8)	(10.3)	(7.7)
Traditional	(6.7)	(9.2)	(11.3)	(28.7)
Secular/NA	1.0	9.2	3.1	7.2
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	195	195	195	195

(1) Non-belief, uncertainty and "secular" actions

First, there are those who do not believe either the *chera* or *chira* exist or that there is any such power as *dola*. Overall less than 25 percent think this way. Second, some are uncertain as to whether the *chera* are able to catch their souls, or the *chira* can be angry with them or "ask" them. However, there is no uncertainty about *dola*, either you believe it has power or you do not. Third, people gave "secular" responses which in the case of the *chira* and *chera* was a matter of ignoring whatever anyone says and with *dola* sickness, they simply went to the hospital.

(2) Immunity from or power over spirits

A fourth group of Christians believe they are immune from the spiritual agent, being or power by virtue of their relationship to God. They made statements such as:

by God no one can *dola* me;
dola can't harm Christians because Jesus is with me;
they do it [*dola*] to God, not me - God heals;
chero cannot come, I am covered by the blood of Jesus;
chero doesn't know my soul's place - can't catch because God has my soul;
chero fears me because of Jesus;
chero fears me, my soul is in God's hand.
chira exist but have no power to harm me.

One man even stated that he built his house on a place where people said *chera* met. In the replies to questions about the *chira*, people expressed confidence that although they know the *chira* are real, *chira* have no power over them as Christians. Some indicated this was because they are covered by the "blood of Jesus".

The belief in protection or immunity from something is sometimes reinforced by Scripture. When asked about snake bite, one person stated "pray, God gives power to step on snakes". This is a literal acceptance of Luke 10:19. I have heard people testify in church services that God protects them from snake bite and scorpion sting, or heals them and they refer to Mark 16:18, where Jesus speaks of picking up snakes and not being harmed. A group of Christians met outside a house at Saga one evening and a snake slid amongst them, but did not bite anyone. The church leader said it showed God's power and referred to the verse in Mark.¹¹⁸ A few Christians quoted Scripture in their replies to several issues: "*Chero* cannot catch my soul [quoted Matt 10:28 and 1 Jn 4:4]"; "Continue to pray-1 Thess 5:17"; "Refuse to drink [*pwe chira*]-James 5:12"; "Pray [to identify thief]-Phil 4:6 and watch to catch"; and, "Ps. 127, only God protects [from thief]".

(3) Non-immunity: protection, treatment and/or driving spirits away

The main group of Christians' answers imply that either the person does not

believe they are immune from those powers, beings, spirits of the dead, or agents, or that there are spiritual powers at work which they need to counteract. In either case, they have to take spiritual and sometimes physical action for protection, destruction, treatment or to drive the spirit away. People imply that a *chero* can harm them, because they would pray and/or ask Christians to pray for their protection; pray and either fast or "examine" their life; and "repent all sin". There are also a number who would "pray that the blood of Jesus will destroy the *chero*". Others would "pray and bind Satanic forces". In the solutions to *chira* anger, the main emphasis is to "pray for protection". Some state "have nothing to do with them", "use Jesus Christ to drive the spirit away", "study God's word about *chira* - know *chira* not do anything to me". Although many people state "pray and go to hospital" as their reaction to the problem of an unexplained swollen leg, 62 people (31%) assert that only *dola liri* or some other Kasena *liri* and prayer can give healing. Some Christians think that there is *kaanem* associated with *dola liri*, but others do not and so justify its use. All the traditional elders I spoke to concerning the *dola liri* suggest that it involves presenting a fowl which they *kaane* for the *liri*.

Some Christians firmly believe that *chira* in particular can become angry with a person.¹¹⁹ Consequently, they would "pray for protection - do not annoy the *chira* again"; "pray the *chira* will be happy with me"; and "pray that God will let the *chira* forgive me". In the traditional responses both for the *chira* and *chero* question, people "leave the house", "run south" or "take the mouth". With respect to the *chira*, people would also: "beg, give what they want", "stop what I do to annoy *chira*" and "go to the *voro*, if they want a dog, I will give". The overall picture reflected in Table 8 is one of belief that spiritual powers, agents or the spirits of the dead exist and have power to harm people, even Christians. There is a concern to counteract these through protection, treatment or driving the spirit away. This is in marked contrast to those who do not believe in the existence of the *chira*.

(4) Christian action: destruction of *jona* and driving spirits away

In the question on a man's father building his *yugu we* after an accident, 12 people stated they would remove it or ask their father to do this. Some Kasena Christians believe that the *jona* must be destroyed because they are associated with destructive spiritual powers and they have discovered a greater power calling for unequivocal obedience. Therefore they take demonstrable actions to drive the spirits away. Paul Abasili ceased to *kaane jona* in 1980 when he went south. In 1987 he visited Chiana. One night he dreamt that he saw himself returning to *kaane jona*. Early the next morning he took a hoe, and went and cut out all his personal *jona* and dumped them outside. He stated, "The whole place was clear and I said you are here that is why I continued to have these dreams."

As a child, B.G. had been covenanted to a *de* (python) and his father gave him a bangle from his *naare*¹²⁰ to protect himself. His father also thought "witchcraft was killing his children so he went to Kukula to give him children and riches."¹²¹ B.G. travelled to Accra, but the *de* kept appearing in his dreams so he knew it followed him there. When he became a Christian, B.G. stated, " I had to break that [bangle] and throw it away." He also began to "renounce" the shrines associated with his life. He described what he did in this way

I know these gods will not leave me entirely unless I do something and that is to pray and tell the Lord about those gods or the shrines that were disturbing me in the house. So I have to renounce every idol; the *de*, the *naare*, the *Kukula* and then this bangle that I don't want them in my life. They are just idols. They cannot take care of my life. It is only God. So I am now a child of God. ... When I was renouncing this, each day I have to go into fast. I would pray and bind all. So I saw that in fact, I was really delivered from these things.

He added that since "renouncing" these shrines, "I have never come across anything like that in my dream or my way. When I go back to the house too, nothing." B.G. returned north and told his father he was "converted" and "how the idols are not good." At first his father did not agree to destroy them because "He says God has given them this thing. You can't buy it." B.G. replied "rivers are not God, though

they are gods on earth here. But the supreme God I am talking of here is not like those gods you are talking of. The *naare* is not God that created human beings." His father gathered his things in one place, but did not want to burn them immediately. Instead he wanted to go to church and learn so he would know what to do with the things. B.G. stated "He was afraid. So I don't want to be in haste. I just want to wait, so when he is sure of himself, then he can come back and destroy them." He continued talking with his father explaining how *Kukula* in particular, had neither helped preserve his children nor given him others. Finally, the father told B.G. to burn the things for him. In his father's presence B.G. prayed over them, broke them and burnt them. B.G. directly addressed *Kukula*.

I stood upon that one too and charged that, 'Kukula if really you are a god or a shrine around here and you know somebody has come to you for help and you know you can help and you couldn't do it, then you are a thief. So I am renouncing and charging you in the name of Jesus that you should go back to where you are.' This is how I spoke to the idol before I commanded it to go. I prayed a prayer of confession with my father. That's what I did in his presence.

B.G. took time to discuss things with his father and did not destroy what was not his own, but only acted when he had his father's approval. This is in contrast to a case reported to me where enthusiastic young Christians destroyed a *tangwam* which was not their property.

The act of physically removing objects is not seen as the only means of driving away powers. During times of church worship in many churches, the power of God is called on in both prayers and songs, to drive away dangerous spirits ("*setaane*" or *chichiri*).¹²² Christians also pray for the salvation of *vora* and people who are guardians of different shrines. Often when people pray for these issues, there is a crescendo as people shout more and more loudly, often with deep emotion. At a CP harvest festival, the leader repeatedly told people to shout "Hallelujah" loudly. Then he shouted "When you shout Hallelujah, *setaane* will go away."¹²³ McKenzie points out that making noise is often a feature of driving spirits or powers away.¹²⁴ This is not unique to Kasena churches, but nor is it practised in all churches.

(5) Christian action: refusal to use *tangwana* or *liri*

Some Christians perceive the spiritual powers associated with *tangwana* or *liri* to be so destructive that they warn others against using them and will have nothing to do with them. Some Christians believe that if a person goes to a *tangwam* to "beg" for a child,¹²⁵ the woman will deliver a *chichiru*. A Christian woman told me of a woman in her church who went to a shrine with her husband and made a vow for a child. She delivered a child, but the child did not grow. The Christian stated, "It was a *chichiru*. All the time the child becomes sick, it doesn't grow." The child died and the Christian woman concluded: "if you give yourself to God and do not go to medicine people, this would not have happened ... If it is God who has given the child, the child would not be a bad child. He won't disturb you."

In a church service, a man asked about putting *liri* in crops to stop people stealing the produce or "soul" of the crop. He related how a Christian had told him to use *liri* because it was not *kaanem*. One church leader replied "it's not good". However another church leader related how people stole his corn and a man offered him "good *liri*" to put in the corn which would immobilise the thief so prevent him from running away. The leader said he told the man, he did not want to harm the person. He stated "I will pray to God and be industrious [watch]. The *liri* is a useless thing because it harms people. Because of Jesus we take all things and put them into Jesus hands." On a separate occasion he related to me, "I told them that I did not want to be the cause of the person's death, rather I want people to live so I can tell them God's word." Other Christians replace the use of *liri* with the "name of Jesus" to protect their farm.

Christian reactions to traditional methods of healing sickness and the use of *tangwana* and shrines with associated powerful spirits is illustrated in a discussion noted during a church service. A church leader (A1) told the story of the healing of Naaman at the Jordan River.¹²⁶ After he completed the story, people questioned him and A2 (a more senior church leader present) and A3 (an older male church member)

participated in the discussion.

Q. Was it the medicine Elisha had or God blessed the water so that it could heal the sick? Is it right for us to respect rivers?

A1. It has to do with *wo-dedoa*¹²⁷ (belief/faith) and if you had *wo-dedoa* you would be healed.

Q. If you don't know God can you go to a river and get healed?

A2. First we have to believe (*wo-dedoa*) in Jesus and agree with him. God's Spirit spoke to Elisha and he spoke the Spirit's words. It's not the *buga* (river) [which healed him].

He then told the story of the Pool of Siloam [Bethesda]¹²⁸ and said 'it's not all who saw health.'

Q. Was the *buga* a *tangwam* for them to see health?

A2. He asked a young boy to answer the question. The boy repeated everything the church leader had said in his previous answer. The leader then added 'it's not that one *buga* is *tangwam* and others are not.'

Q. If a Christian is sick and Christians pray and the sickness isn't healed, can we go to the *liri* owners place and be healed? Will God accept it?

A1. If Christians have *wo-dedoa* it will finish.

A3. Sometimes it comes to test us. If you go to the *liri* owners place you are goodbying God. For how many years will your soul enter suffering? If you have placed yourself in God's hands and are not healed but die, you will be with God and have life forever.

A2. He referred to the Apostle Paul not being healed¹²⁹ and said: It's not because of *wo-dedoa*. Paul healed people, was he not healed because he did not have *wo-dedoa*? What *liri* are you talking about? There are types of *liri* - leaves you can take yourself; there is *dokta liri*, *teo vɔɔro* (tree leaves) or there is *chichiri liri* (spirit medicine), *sebu pɔŋɔ* (cowries) to protect or *kaane* for the *liri*.

He then gave an example of a Christian whom they had prayed for but he had not been healed. He asked: Have we prayed and failed? No, we have to keep on praying.

A1 interpreted "*wo-dedoa*" to be the new "key" to healing. However, A2, sought to correct this. In his opinion, God's power was not diminished by a Christian not being healed. He urged people to continue to pray and used Paul's experience of God's grace in his weakness to teach people. A3, clearly linked *liri* with spiritual power which interfered with a person's relationship with God. Furthermore, A2 had thought through the range of *liri* and distinguished between different types, implying that

Christians could use those which did not involve *kaanem*.

(6) Struggles with spiritual powers

If Christians abandon *chullu* or *jona* and then face misfortune, crises or dream bad dreams in which spirit related beings appear, their problems can intensify. In the examples of the two men who dreamt about the spirits associated with specific shrines, both men took definitive steps to break contact. However, some Christians have not seen evidence of God's power to free them from the powers they believe are associated with shrines and evident in the world around them and therefore they continue to struggle with these powers. This is illustrated in the solutions to problems such as jealousy, *chira* asking you, *chira* anger, when someone takes an oath on the *chira*, if the person is called to *pwe chira*, disputes in the *sɔŋɔ* and in the three questions on *chero*. There are Christians who perceive the only solution to be to "leave the house", "run down south" or "build own house". Eight people illustrated the struggle to abandon old sources of power when they admitted that they would *kaane* if a crisis arose or if pressured by family members.¹³⁰ Another five indicated that at present they did not think about *kaanem*, but if their circumstances altered, for example, by becoming *sɔŋɔ tu*, they would change their mind and decide to "leave Christianity".

Where Christians have not perceived God to be unequivocally more powerful than the spiritual powers which are associated with their shrines, then their struggle is magnified. We saw in Chapters four and five, examples of non-Christians attributing the cause of a Christian's misfortune or crisis, to his baptism, God or leaving the "father's way". Fear of "the *chira* asking you" and subsequent death or misfortune contributed to some returning to "sit in the house" or blocks others from accepting the gospel in the first place. People use these reasons to return to their former beliefs and practices or reject the gospel in spite of the fact that when they reject Christianity, they are not immune from death and misfortune. Both Kasena Christians and non-Christians acknowledge this inconsistency as is illustrated in the

story of the man who stopped following *Wε choŋa* when he began losing his eyesight. He acknowledged that although he re-commenced his former practices his eyes continued to deteriorate.

Shortly after the Adasong GN church was founded, a young man in the church died unexpectedly. Many people in the area wanted the church closed. They blamed God for killing the boy. Whenever Christians met for a service, people mocked them by saying "the God that we serve is an evil God. If he was not an evil God, then the boy would not have died."¹³¹ The Christians wanted to stop meeting, but Anthony Kupoe encouraged them by telling them "when you don't follow God and you are going to die, you have to die. ... Death is not new to human beings. It's an old thing."¹³² In addition, the old househead of the young man who died, spoke to them. Although he was not a Christian, he told them that if they stopped the church, people would laugh at them. He also reminded them of the universality of death. "When we stop the church and people are going to die, they will die, and when we are in the church and people are going to die, they will die." He urged them to continue meeting and he pointed out that when a person begins something, sometimes they commence with a "strong part or dangerous part; sometimes you will start with an easy part." He added, "when we start with a dangerous part, may be it will come to the middle, the easy part, so we shouldn't stop our religion."¹³³

The struggle with traditional powers is also illustrated in a man's prayer request. He told how he dreamt and "*setaane* came to me". The church leader asked what he meant. He replied that "*setaane* appeared and so did Jesus and they struggled together." Then he added, "*Wε diga* is inside me, *chullu* are inside me."

7. Changes in the concepts of evil: *setaane* and *wɛleere*

(1) Spiritual powers associated with evil

The questions raised in Chapter six and the answers Christians gave illustrate that the term *setaane* has become an all-encompassing term for evil or wrongdoing as well as referring to the "Satan" of biblical reference.¹³⁴ Furthermore, many Kasena intermix the word *wɛleere* (sin) with *setaane*. Richard Gray describes how many Africans instinctively sense "as evil all that detracts from or destroys life."¹³⁵ This is very close to the Kasena traditional concept of evil. Problems and issues such as illness, infertility, sudden death, birth defects, lack of rain and famine are usually manifestations of evil and rarely, if ever chance happenings. Gray argues that "Beliefs in taboo and witchcraft help in some measure to make intelligible, and therefore bearable, the recurrent threats of hunger, disease and a fearful incidence of infant mortality."¹³⁶ Spiritual powers can intervene and bring punishment on an individual or community not only when an individual's own wrongful behaviour warrants it, but when others manipulate these spiritual powers to inflict this harm or destruction because of jealousy, hatred or the desire to control.

Chera (witches) or *yisena nɔɔna* ('red eyes' - jealous people) use spiritual powers maliciously: ordinary people can also use the *voro* or *tangwam* to bring harm.¹³⁷ The Kasena classify adultery with a clansman, destructive gossiping, lack of respect or neglect of what is due to others, as wrongful behaviour which warrants punishment by spiritual powers or ancestors. Therefore, the basis for understanding the biblical teaching that "the wages of sin is death" already existed in Kasena thinking, but "the sin need not have been one's own."¹³⁸ Gray points out that African societies responded to missionaries denouncing sin, but without necessarily understanding sin "as evil interiorized, involving responsibility and personal guilt."¹³⁹ He adds "Christianity was indeed sometimes seen as but the latest in a series of purification or witchcraft-eradication movements."¹⁴⁰ The belief in spirit-related causes of evil has also led to easy acceptance in African cosmologies of the biblical reference

to Satan. This is exemplified by some Kasena Christian songs which identify Satan as the cause of suffering, but Christians see Jesus as the source of salvation.

*Ja n ja duri gwaḡa,
Setaane pae de nubia yaare,
Ja na ja duri gwaḡa,
Yezu ba,
ni debam nubia yaare dede.*¹⁴¹

I beg, I beg, have mercy,
Satan makes our relatives suffer
I beg, I beg, have mercy
Jesus come
see our relatives suffering greatly.

*Baḡa Wε ni amo yaare na,
Wε joḡ amo,
Setaane pae a wo læero wone,
Yezu popo popo joḡ ne,
Yezu de teiru ba n joḡ ne.*¹⁴²

God see my suffering,
God save me,
Satan gave me my troubles,
Jesus, please rescue me,
Jesus our Lord come and save me.

Gray expresses a warning about the acceptance of "Satan" in African cosmologies. He reminds us that obsessive preoccupation with Satan and sorcery can result in the terror of witch-hunts as experienced both in Europe and North America. He also sees potential for positive development where "Christian communities have gradually moved from a concern to identify witches to a trust in the protection offered by baptism, prayer and worship."¹⁴³ This defeat of Satan and release from the power of evil is what he refers to as the message of the Kingdom of God. We have already seen in the Kasena Christian journey, evidence of both aspects occurring - witchcraft-eradication and the subsequent growth in understanding of the protective role, not so much of baptism, prayer and worship, but of prayer and the work of the Holy Spirit through teaching and the Bible. This is illustrated through the members of the COLM in the western Kasena-Nankana area who moved to other churches because they received new teaching on the Holy Spirit and took their evidence from Bible. A Kasem song illustrates the emphasis on Jesus' word.

*Setaane lage jei yo,
De bá yaale Yezu
Yezu kwora mo debam chega,
Yezu tɔnɔ mo debam chega,
De bá yaale Yezu.*¹⁴⁴

Satan wants [us to be] lost,
we will not disgrace Jesus,
Jesus word is our truth,
Jesus book is our truth,
We will not disgrace Jesus.

At times Christians address Satan in person in their songs, inform him of Jesus' suffering for sin and refute Satan on these grounds. There is a sense of encounter.

Setaane, ni Yezu yaare o te

amo wɛleera ɣwaane

A va nmo na

Amo wá tɔge Yezu mo se a na ɣwea.

Satan, look Jesus suffered and died

because of my sin

I do not want you

I will follow Jesus and see life.

(2) Personal responsibility for sin and evidence of guilt

It is important at this point to avoid erroneously generalising and assuming that traditionally people in African societies never took personal responsibility for wrong-doing nor experienced guilt. A number of authors who discuss the process of divination in northern Ghana illustrate how people experience guilt for their deviant acts but they argue that the divination process provides a means of confessing guilt and shame through ritual.¹⁴⁵ Abraham Berinyuu classifies diviners as "therapists" whose work is similar to western psychotherapists and whose function is to assist in identifying causes of the conflicts in a community and to suggest ways of dealing with them to restore harmony in the community and the individuals.¹⁴⁶ Berinyuu points out that the ancestral role is an important aspect of this therapy. He argues that the therapy succeeds because it involves confession and suggestion, but he counsels against denying "the possibility that there are some supernatural influences in African therapy that help Africans to deal with their conflicts."¹⁴⁷ Berinyuu interconnects guilt, blame and shame and stresses that individuals do accept responsibility for wrong doing. He argues that "rituals which normally follow therapy invariably are aimed at accepting guilt/blame/shame, taking responsibility, and even in some cases restitution."¹⁴⁸

Mechanisms exist within Kasena divination and rituals associated with *kaanem* for people to acknowledge wrong and they do experience guilt for wrong-doing. People have a foundation for understanding sin and guilt. However, there is evidence that there has been a shift in understanding sin and personal responsibility in relationship to God.¹⁴⁹ One member of the GN Adasong church stated that "at first I didn't know that I am a sinner". Then he related how he and others discovered that "sin causes man to be away from God." Four Christian songs speak of sin and how

Jesus saves from sin.

*Nabiina bam á se Wε yo,
se wεleere kabiri kam,
Mo o tua o yigi o de
pa de maama na gwεa,
Yezu mo tua, o yigi ka o de,
pa de maama na gwεa.*¹⁵⁰

*De ke Yezu lei,
se o joŋ debam maama (rep)
se o te o joŋ debam wεleera.
Yezu nam joŋ debam (rep),
se n fɔge debam de Wε daane.*¹⁵¹

*De teiru Yezu a wεleera daga na,
A wεleera daga na, Nam joŋ ne.
N tage n we nmo tua
nɔɔn-chechoro gwεane.
A tu nmo tei. Joŋ ne n ja.*¹⁵²

*Yezu na chaveera de wεleera gwεane.*¹⁵³

People you accept God,
for the wall of sin,
He came and pushed it down
so that we saw life,
Jesus came and pushed it down,
so that we saw life.

We thank Jesus,
for he saves us all,
For he died he collected our sin.
Jesus then save us,
so that you reconcile us with God.

Our Lord Jesus my sins are many,
My sins are many, save me.
You said that you came
because of sinners.
I come to you. Save and hold me.

Jesus saw shame because of our sin.

8. Concepts of the Deity: Wε, Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit

(1) God the creator and most powerful one

The Kasena traditionally recognised Wε as creator, but now there is new comprehension of his function as creator, protector, healer and provider. One Kasena Christian song reflects this.

*A ma kwi a dale Wε yo,
A dale Wε na se o joŋ ne se o joŋ ne*

I cry and lean against God,
I cry I lean on God so that he receives me.

*Omo na ye logo maama Keru,
A ma kwi a tɔge Baŋa Wε mo se o joŋ ne
A ma kwi a dale Wε mo se o joŋ ne.*¹⁵⁴

He is the Creator of all the world,
I cry I follow God so that he receives me,
I cry I lean on God so that he receives me.

Some Christians perceive God's creativity within the context of pre-Christian ideas. In an interview, a woman told me how her house people blamed her sickness on the fact that she was God's child and God could not heal her sickness. When they

asked her to go to the *jona tu* house to collect medicine, she replied to this, "I will accept our owner [God]. He is having medicine. He is the one who will give medicine to the *jona tu*. The *jona tu* cannot just sit down and have *lira*." She rejected the medicine from the *jona tu* because she believed that God gave him the *lira*. In another example, Kofi became seriously ill and many people told him to give them money so they would consult the *voro*. Kofi refused but they constantly argued with him until he finally asked them "Did God make *joni* or *joni* make God?" They replied "God made *joni*." Kofi did not refute his house peoples statement that "God made *joni*", but instead used their reply to urge them to pray to God to heal him, rather than go to the *voro* or *kaane joni* for him. Continuity with former ideas and beliefs, exists in both examples; the Christians used this to try and persuade others of a new truth they had appropriated about God. In the example of Kofi, it is not a matter of shifting from sacrifice to prayer for *kaanem* incorporates prayer. Instead there is a shift in who the Christian directly communicates with in the spiritual realm and in the route of communication. Prayer directly to God the creator, is the "medium" for guidance, negating the use of the *voro* to determine spiritual cause and *kaanem* to placate those spirits.

Christians acknowledge God's power as greater than everything:

Ŋo Ŋo dam ba doe Wε (rep)
Krista bia taane jege teena,
*Ŋo Ŋo dam doe Wε.*¹⁵⁵

Nothing's strength is greater than God
 Christians talk has hope
 Nothing's strength is greater than God.

Christians acknowledge God as the one who acts. Thus a Christian replies, "God will *sweri [puga]*" to explain his reason for not performing pregnancy rites. When a person accuses a Christian of being a *chero*, some believe that "God is judge" and "God knows".¹⁵⁶ Thus Christians "pray God reveals" or "pray God lets them know I am not a *chero*". Again there is continuity of former Kasena beliefs that a person can be a *chero*, but Christians see God as their source of revelation and not the *voro*.

(2) Jesus the healer: growth in understanding the grace of God

The theme of Jesus the healer is reflected in two Kasena songs.

*Wε telaao pio,
 Yezu duri ba gwaga
 N deem n joŋ jaweena,
 n swε ba maama swolim,
 Nabiina joŋeno,
 Yezu swε ba maama swolem.*¹⁵⁷

God heaven's chief,
 Jesus has their sympathy,
 You healed the sick,
 you blessed them all,
 Peoples' saviour,
 Jesus blessed all of them.

*De teiru Yezu de n lei na,
 nmo seene n gwe
 n toŋ wo-kenkagela dedε,
 se Wε dε amo baŋa naa,
 o ke wo-kenkagela logo nɔɔna nia.
 Nabiina bam á pa de sε Wε dem,
 De seene de gwε
 de toŋ wo-kenkagela dedε,
 se Wε dε amo baŋa naa, de ke
 wo-kenkagela logo maama nia.*¹⁵⁸

Our Lord Jesus Christ thank you
 You really lived
 you worked many miracles,
 So God passed through me,
 he did miracles all the world sees.
 People you accept God
 He really lives,
 he works many miracles,
 So God passed through me, he did
 miracles all the world sees.

This understanding of Jesus as healer does not mean that all Kasena Christians naively expect instant healing. A Christian man sought healing for many years, but continued to suffer chronic sickness. He announced at a day of prayer and fasting a song he had composed.¹⁵⁹

*Wε mo ye a keru wom, a dokta
 A peiga Wε,
 a lage a peiga Wε bwei bwei.*

God is my creator, my doctor
 I praise God,
 I want to praise God loudly.

He had discovered the grace of God not in abstract theology, but in the context of his sickness.

(3) The name and blood of Jesus

The evidence of a shift from the other spiritual powers as providers and protectors to God as the provider is illustrated in two "testimonies". A Christian brought some millet to a church service and stated: "In the past years I have always given the millet to the *nabaare* (ancestral shrine) but this year I am giving my first harvest to the Lord."¹⁶⁰ On another occasion, a Christian testified: "I called Jesus name and then made the farm. I harvested plenty of rice and maize. I didn't put anything in it. I did not put *liri* there. How I farmed, God helped me a lot. I called

Jesus name. When I had the food, I came and filled my house."

It is not only the power of Jesus name which is significant, but some Christians perceive Jesus' blood to be a source of protection.¹⁶¹ One Kasena song argues that Christians do not have *kaanem* because of Jesus' *kaanem* and his blood.

<i>Foŋa foŋa debam nabaara kaane,</i>	Long ago our ancestors sacrificed,
<i>Krista bia ba jege kaanem wo be?</i>	why don't Christians have sacrifice?
<i>O kaanem gwaane</i>	Because of his sacrifice
<i>debam ye sono tiina;</i>	we are love people;
<i>Jana bam gwaane,</i>	because of the blood,
<i>debam ye poone tiina.</i> ¹⁶²	we are "outside" (open) people.

(4) Jesus is superior to the ancestors and their hope for the future

Christians have a new relationship to God: they now identify him as "Father".

<i>De kwo mo jege dam,</i>	Our Father has power,
<i>Baŋa We jege dam,</i>	God has power
<i>Kwaane n ke, kwaane n ke,</i>	try and do, try and do,
<i>se o ye nabiina vereno,</i>	for he is the saviour of people,
<i>se o ye nabiina dam tu.</i>	for he is peoples' power head.
<i>O wo pae de,</i>	He did not give a day,
<i>Yezu wo pae de se o joori o ba.</i> ¹⁶³	Jesus did not give a day for his return.

One Christian woman's brother objected to her attending church because their parents had died and she should participate in *kaanem*. She told him how their father had permitted her to go to church because of her sickness. She stated, "I know God made me, and now I know if I die, I am going to my Father [God]. If I am alive, I know my Father will see over me. That's why I agreed with my Father." Another Christian whose father died, said "I was always on my own. At times no food, no clothes. When I was sick nobody cared for me... When I became a Christian, I knew that even though I didn't have a father, now I have a Father."

There is evidence that the Kasena conceptual map is being redrawn. One Kasena song argues that Jesus is superior to the ancestors and this gives the Kasena a reason to follow him.

Yezu ye logo maama pe (rep)
logo maama tiiri ba jɔna,
Yezu ye logo maama pe.
Birinam de na yia,
Yezu ye logo maama pe,
logo maama tiiri ba jɔna.
Kosera de na yia, ...
Paaki de de na yia,...
Yezu tete dam gaale (rep)
O boɲ toa pa ba zaɲ wɛ ne (rep)
O suri lilwa yia pa ba nae (rep)
De nabaara maama wone (rep)
Ba wɔ tete mo ke tento? (rep)
Konto de sɛ Wɛ na.¹⁶⁴

Jesus is the earth's chief
 the whole world bows down they greet (worship),
 Jesus is all the world's chief.
 When Christmas day comes,
 Jesus is all the world's chief,
 all the world bends down they worship.
 When Sunday comes, ...
 When Easter come, ...
 Jesus' own power is very great.
 He called the dead so that they rose.
 He opened the eyes of the blind to see.
 Amongst all our ancestors,
 Who himself has done this?
 For this accept God.

Two songs illustrate how Christians believe that Jesus provides them with the hope for the future in heaven.

N tɔge Yezu n maa vei telaao
Telaao ye wopolo jeiga jeiga
Nɔɔn-laara na nae Wɛ na
ye ba paare ba jege kwelim to.¹⁶⁵

You follow Jesus to go to heaven,
 Heaven is a place of happiness,
 Good people see God
 and their kingdom doesn't end.

De teiru mo o beena, Yezu ma o beena
Yezu maɲa kam yi naa
De wó tɔge de yi kwo tei
Yezu maɲa kam yi naa.¹⁶⁶

Our Lord is coming, Jesus is coming
 Jesus time is near
 We will follow, we reach our father's place
 Jesus time is near.

(5) The significance of the Holy Spirit.

David Shank depicts a shift from power signs being very significant to the ministry of the Word and teaching becoming very prominent.¹⁶⁷ Although there has been increased emphasis among Kasena Christians on the use of Scripture, there is a continued strong stress on the role of the Holy Spirit and revelation in the Pentecostal or charismatically oriented churches, and as Bukari's story illustrates. During my fieldwork, I heard seven talks on the Holy Spirit in four denominations.¹⁶⁸ Christians plead for the filling of the Holy Spirit as illustrated in this song:

*Sinlaao su amo wo
de a bochaare maama,
Jorolaao su amo wo
pa amo kware weleere.*¹⁶⁹

Holy Spirit fill my stomach
and all my heart,
Holy Spirit fill my stomach
so that I fear sin.

Christians are not always sure of the distinction between Christ and the Holy Spirit. They emphasise the power of the Holy Spirit as much as the power of Christ as the means to overcome spiritual powers. At the end of a church service, the church leader announced that a film was to be shown at night in a neighbouring area. He then told the people not to be afraid of *kɔgɔ* (ghosts) and *jiiru*. He encouraged them to go even if they exist "because the Holy Spirit is more powerful."¹⁷⁰

9. Concepts of human creation: changes in the "unchangeable"

Kasena traditionally believed that a person's life was "mapped out" prior to birth and remained almost unchangeable during life.¹⁷¹ The Kasem term for destiny ("luck") is *yuu chichira* ("head spirit").¹⁷² An elder told me

When they give birth to you and the strength which God gives you, you can not change your strength and your 'destiny'. You bring your destiny from God's house. Your 'destiny' knows it all. God made it. In God's place, it is decided what you want, whether to be a chief or whether to enter suffering. You can not change *yuu chichiri*.

Awedoba confirms this belief and points out that if a person chooses failure, they will have little success on earth. He illustrates this with the Kasena proverb "If God curses you, even the butter you carry by moonlight will melt."¹⁷³ When Kasena Christians were asked "What will you do so that you can change your luck [destiny]?", three-quarters of the replies reflected a continuity of belief that *yuu chichira* are predetermined and unchangeable, but some Christians no longer believe *yuu chichira* are unchangeable because of the activity of God in controlling a person's life. Fifty-three people indicate they would pray and ask God to change it or that it could not be changed except by God doing so and 43 state they would pray for a change of heart. Ten others make statements such as: "pray for the *chichira* to go away"; "learn God's word about *chichira*", "*chichira* left me since becoming a Christian", and "if baptised, *chichiri* change".¹⁷⁴ There are Christians who now believe that God has the

power to change a person's destiny. This has implications for the reception of the gospel message and how people understand personal responsibility.

10. Evidence of Kasena Christian experience and service

(1) Gifts and evangelism

For some Kasena Christians, the application of Scripture to their struggles and problems provided the means to discover a new truth about God, Christ or living the Christian faith. The woman who struggled with her barrenness, discovered gifts she could use in teaching and ministry to other women. A number of Kasena Christian men - Pastor Kaba, Francis and Anthony Kupoe and Joseph Sapio - gave up relative job security and returned to the north to communicate the gospel of Jesus Christ to their own people without the certainty of financial remuneration from any source. Kasena particularly within Evangelical and Pentecostal churches have intensified their evangelistic efforts. The Ghana Evangelism Committee has stimulated this effort by calling churches to "evangelize Ghana ... by the year AD 2000."¹⁷⁵ However, individual Kasena talk to others and also spontaneously witness through songs. Kasena say that they always call God's name when they *kaane jona* and so one composer argues that this is therefore an adequate reason to follow Jesus.

<i>N zi maŋ n tɔge vora nana,</i>	Even if you go to eight diviners,
<i>n boŋ Wɛ yere,</i>	you call God's name,
<i>N ya zi kaanem na zaŋ,</i>	Even if you finish sacrificing,
<i>n boŋ Wɛ yere,</i>	you call God's name,
<i>Konto á maa yei we</i>	So far you know that
<i>Wɛ mo jege dam naa,</i>	God has power,
<i>á nam yage á jona yam</i>	Leave the shrines
<i>se á pa de tɔge Yezu.</i> ¹⁷⁶	and let us follow Jesus.

Another song exhorts people not to make Christ's suffering and shed blood become superfluous through continuing to consult diviners and shrines.

Yezu mo ye de maama tu.
Yezu kwe o yira de o jana
o ma joŋ logo maama.
Yezu tu o yaare o te,
Á yage vora bam se á se Wε,
Á yage jona se á se Wε
Á yi pa se o jana bam ji kafe,
Á nam yi pa se o yaara yam ji kafe.¹⁷⁷

Jesus is all our Lord (head).
 Jesus took his body and his blood,
 he saved all the world.
 Jesus came and suffered and died,
 You leave diviners and accept God
 You leave shrines and accept God
 You don't let his blood become useless
 You then don't let his suffering become
 useless.

Although some Christians complained of isolation, members of both Catholic and Protestant churches search out other Christians in times of crisis, such as when facing serious sickness to pray for them and offer physical help. Where Christians still complain of isolation, the cause may be physical distance from other Christians, but in some cases it occurs because Christians perceive the Pastor/Priest/church leader as having the main responsibility for support and care. As churches increase in size it is more difficult for leaders to fulfil this role, and unless more Christians discover this aspect of all inclusive Christian responsibility, the Church as family and community will not be nurtured.

(2) Re-interpreting the old in the light of new knowledge

Some missionaries or Christians hastily conclude that the giving of "water" consecrated by prayer to a person to heal their sickness or running around a cross is simply a "charm" and denounce the practice as syncretistic. But is this syncretism or is there evidence of a change or re-interpretation in the source of power? There is a need to probe behind the external action and examine what is being communicated and how the hearer interprets the message. A member of a Christian's family begins to display signs of mental illness. If the Christian prays, sends the person to the hospital but also goes to the *voro* (as some replied to question 29), it means that the Christian is probing to discover what or who caused the illness and he or she does not perceive that the prayer and hospital treatment is adequate. The hospital treats the illness, but does not treat the person by correcting the wrong behaviour of the person or revealing whether someone else has maliciously caused the illness. If the Christian does not

discover the "key" to help him or her cope with this issue, then there is nothing within his or her Christian framework to help probe the causes unless someone consults the *voros*. Pastor Kaba clearly displayed that he had discovered a new "key to conduct" in the way he approached John Atongba's mental illness in 1966. He prayed frequently for Atongba, for the sending away of the *chichiri*, called him to "make *tuba*", sent him to hospital for treatment and asked Atongba's father to remove the shrines which he believed contributed to the illness.

A.F. Walls acknowledges that "the prophet-healers use techniques and styles of interrogation characteristic of traditional diviners and healers." They search for causes, evidence of wrong doing and maliciousness, but they firmly locate their source of healing "with the work of Christ or the Holy Spirit."¹⁷⁸ According to Walls,

when the source of power is so visibly identified with the God of the Bible and the Church of Christ there is a gap opened up with the old powers of Africa. The traditional African concept of healing the person rather than the sickness is retained. But it is transformed by locating the healing in Christ. It demands a more complete break with 'the world' than by going to church during the day and to the diviner at night."¹⁷⁹

We saw in the case of some who had their initial contact with *Wε choŋa* in the COLM through healing, that they firmly located their healing in the power of Christ. The COLM mixes sand from the "Mercy Ground" with water for people to use as part of the healing process. They do this not because it resembles any traditional practice, but "because Christ took sand and mixed it with water and used it to heal."¹⁸⁰ The COLM also place great emphasis on the cross which "is like a picture to remind the person that this is what Christ has done." Unfortunately, however, sometimes hearers become obsessed with the symbol they are given and see the symbol as the source of healing and power. In one case a man became obsessed with the cross he had been given and even began to display signs of mental illness. His house people called church leaders of another denomination who began to pray for and teach this man. They also regarded the removal of this cross as an essential part of his healing.

11. Searching for a key to conduct

An important characteristic of Kasena Christian thought today is the search to know the "key to conduct". This is illustrated by the large number of "What do I do?" questions posed to church leaders. If a Kasena Christian is no longer able to resolve an issue by utilising the ways/laws of the "fathers" and shrines, then what is he or she to do? What is to be the means and source of guidance when a man struggles deeply over the welfare of his house people? How are Kasena Christians to interrelate with others? This is a natural reaction.

A.F. Walls suggests that the "search for a key to conduct perhaps lies behind the apparent legalism which has constantly perplexed outside observers to African Christianity."¹⁸¹ David Shank questions whether this "legalistic" stage could be "skipped".¹⁸² He observes that in the Thailand Report, the theologians blamed the failure of missionary preaching and teaching as the cause of legalism and therefore imply that this stage could be missed.¹⁸³ However, Walls points out that questions asked about behaviour are not trivial issues. He illustrates this from the reaction of those who heard the Prophet W.W.Harris. Harris told converts "God is all-powerful, so you must burn your fetishes".¹⁸⁴ As the people abandoned their known requirements, so it "was essential to know the full requirements of the new and true tradition which was to replace it."¹⁸⁵ When Harris declared that their traditional sickness treatment system was "nothing" if they believed in God, they therefore lost access to the core of their healing system and so they asked Harris what to do. He declared that everything was "fit" for them and if they were to use the traditional medicine they should pray while they gathered the leaves, pray while they prepared the medicine and pray while they administered it.¹⁸⁶ Harris took what was there and he turned it towards Christ. There are two significant shifts in this: first, they bypassed the traditional medicine specialist, but they were not left with prayer as the only option.¹⁸⁷ Second, the emphasis is on prayer to God himself rather than consultation with spiritual entities. Therefore, Walls implies that the "search for the key to conduct" cannot be avoided.

Where the ongoing communication of the gospel message merely introduces a penitential system or develops "laws" based on a one-sided interpretation of Scripture, then legalism is inevitable. Lowell Noble illustrates this in his study of shame. He points out that the guilt-centred approach of most Western based evangelism "tends to be in terms of law thus resulting in legalism more than grace."¹⁸⁸ The guilt oriented approach leads to a church pre-occupied with "Church discipline" and punishment, rather than repentance, restitution and reconciliation. It is as a result of this criticism that Noble seeks to examine what Scripture has to say about shame and the associated emphasis on reconciliation with God and humanity.

According to Walls, "Catholic and Protestant Christianity reflect the struggle to apply the mind of Christ to questions posed by the life and thought patterns of the West."¹⁸⁹ Fr. Kazaresam argues that "the Christianity which has been preached does not completely satisfy their [Kasena] religious aspirations."¹⁹⁰ What Kasena first heard about *Wε choga* did not provide them with answers to their questions and this implies that the fault lies with the message preached. Kazaresam succinctly describes the negative aspect of the message and the vacuum this created in Kasena lives.

Christianity condemned and abolished many of the customs as superstition, but gave nothing concrete as a replacement for the condemnation. In crises of famine, sickness, lack of fecundity, the Kasena turned to the gods or ancestors for aid. Thus when his prayers to the Christian God are not answered, he turns to these customary sources in search of help.¹⁹¹

He implies that "replacement" is the answer to this issue. But does the substitution of one rite for another, answer peoples' questions more adequately or help them understand the power of Christ and appropriate Christian truth in resolving their crises, especially if the ritual reflects the concerns of a different cultural context? Walls claims that conversion is neither substituting a new thing for an old one nor adding something new to something old.

Conversion is the turning, the re-orientation, of every aspect of humanity -- culture-specific humanity -- to God. For Christ was the full expression of God in human medium. Of its nature, then, conversion is not a single aoristic act, but a process. It has a beginning; we cannot presume to posit an end.¹⁹²

The conversion process therefore goes beyond an individual act at a specific point in time or even the subsequent "replacement" of rites for it "involves the turning towards Christ of everything that is there already, so that Christ comes into places, thoughts, relationships and world views in which He has never lived before."¹⁹³

The search for a key to conduct provides a major avenue for the appropriation of Christian truth, if the problems, questions or issues are treated as genuine and the functioning system of personality, experience and social relationship is opened up "to the expression of Christ."¹⁹⁴ Churches which do provide an avenue for people to raise questions, illustrate the importance of this as it indicates comprehension of the messages heard. As questions and issues continue to arise, so there is an ongoing opportunity for appropriation of Christian truth. Whether the Kasena search for a key to conduct will lead to entrenched legalism or not is influenced by the input of those who teach (missionary or church leader), the state of their own personal journey and their responsiveness to the Holy Spirit.

12. Conclusion

A comprehensive and definitive presentation of all aspects of Kasena Christian thought and action is beyond the scope of this chapter and is a task which remains to be undertaken at some future time. Rather we have drawn out from multiple sources some of the elements of Kasena Christian theology. At the beginning of Chapter six, we asked the question, "Has Christ been perceived as belonging to Kasena daily life?" The interviews, personal stories, talks and songs illustrate that for some Kasena Christians the answer is "Yes". They perceive and experience Jesus in activities where formerly the *nabaara* or *chira* held power. For others this is not the case. They have not felt his power in daily life. There are some issues with which God is clearly associated in the solution, but others where this is not the case. An interviewer wrote about one respondent:

This person went deep to tell me that he personally will not forsake his tradition he (sic) only not sacrifice by himself he lets someone do it for him. He went further to tell me that some people only take the white man's God and leave totally some of the things in their custom.

The variation in responses to the marriage and funeral questions reflects ongoing uncertainty in the minds of some Kasena Christians as to how a Christian should react. Although there has been acceptance of a new tradition, the answers to questions in the past have not always helped to provide a "key to conduct." There are two reasons for this situation:

- a. When the messenger assumes that the parts of culture which do not fit his or her categories for the presentation of the message are irrelevant and thus dismisses them without exploring the meanings behind those beliefs and practices, and /or
- b. he or she does not endeavour to re-examine Scripture to see how the mind of Christ is applied to that issue.

Through this discussion of the Kasena itinerary and theology, we have seen evidence that identification of and subsequent theological reflection on problems, questions and issues provides a basis for appropriating Christian truth: the Creator God, the power of God, sin, salvation through Christ's death and resurrection; the grace of God, the Holy Spirit and the gifts of the Spirit. This has been the activity of those within the context itself. It has not been a matter of outsiders "contextualizing" issues for the Kasena. However, if we return to the list of problems, or questions discussed in Chapter six, we find that the areas most frequently mentioned (health, death and funerals, courtship/marriage and ancestors and spirits) are also the topics where Christians expressed some of the greatest uncertainty or variation: funerals, widow activities at funerals, snake bite, *dola* sickness, *chira* angry and *chira* ask, oaths on the *tangwam*, giving birth to a *chichiru*, insults, house disputes, a house person being accused of being a *chero* and five out of the six marriage questions.

Furthermore, the interviews only cover a limited number of topics and a large number of issues exist for which we have little knowledge of Christian reaction.

There may also be problems at present which Kasena Christians do widely recognise as problems such as the widespread de-forestation (including the trees which they were formerly forbidden to cut down), but with which a biblical understanding of the issues involved would give Christians a new insight into the problems. Applying the mind of Christ to these problems provides a basis for appropriating Christian truth by those in the context and those presenting the message. Some of the problems and questions for which Christian truth needs to be appropriated are listed in Chapter 6 and Appendix 8. Some of the significant issues include: oath taking and the breaking of an old covenant and entry into a new covenant; the relationship of the *kwara* to "the horn of salvation"; the Christian's relationship to his or her ancestors and the Christian double ancestral heritage; and, the attitude to the environment.

NOTES

1. Prior to 1978, the RC and Presbyterian churches predominantly used either hymns translated into Kasem or English and Twi hymns. The RC church produced *Kasem Warem Tɔnɔ* (Kasem Prayer Book) in 1976 to help Kasena Christians pray to God. It contains four sections which include prayers for morning and evening; prayers for Mass; 136 hymns (pp.66-176); and instructions for Christians in a variety of contexts: baptism; confession of sin, Eucharist; confirmation; sickness; marriage; death; Sunday; Christian festivals; and, Fasting. (pp.177-179). All the hymns are in Kasem but many are translated from English and are sung to English tunes. The RC church has encouraged the use of Kasem songs and some Kasena Christians have composed songs and music within the RC church. Fr. Gagnon described the abilities of the catechist, Pascal Fella, to put Christian teaching into Kasena songs. (Gagnon, "Pascal Fella, L'apotre (sic) ordinaire de Kyana," in *Mentalité Païenne*, pp.74,75.) Since 1978 Kasena Christians have composed many songs, particularly members of the GN churches and the COLM. These church groups do not use hymn books of translated hymns, but from the outset encouraged Christians to compose songs. The vast bulk of songs are composed in Kasem, but Christians also sing Twi, Nankane, Buli and English songs. For example, a singing group in Kalivio GN church have been prolific producers of songs for many different occasions. They compose not only Kasem songs with Kasena music, but also borrow Twi tunes and compose Kasem lyrics for those tunes. In 1990, I responded to requests by Nyangania, Kalivio, Saga and Adasong GN churches to record some of the songs their groups had developed. Some groups passed the tapes onto the FM Radio station in Bolgatanga, while others used them in their areas.

2. Awedoba, *Aspects of Wealth and Exchange*, p.91.

3. J.Kirby, "Changing Strategies for Problem Solving: Comparing Christian and Muslim Converts in Northern Ghana," *The Harvard Workshop on Conversion in Africa* May 12-15, 1988, Center for the Study of World Religions, Harvard University, p.7.

4. J.Kirby, *God, Shrines, and Problem-solving among the Anufo of Northern Ghana*, Berlin, Dietrich Reimer Verlag, pp.81-103,239.

5. J.Kirby, "The Non-Conversion of the Anufo of Northern Ghana, *Mission Studies*, 1985, 2, p.18.

6. Okorocho, *The Meaning of Religious Conversion*, p.240.

7. Kirby, *God, Shrines and Problem-solving*, p.31, and A.Krass, *Go...And Make Disciples*, Applied Theology 1, TEF Study Guide 9, London, S.P.C.K., 1974.

8. Kirby, "The Non-conversion of the Anufo, p.15.

9. *Ibid*, pp.15-25.

10. Kirby also used the results from these interviews to analyse the nature of conversion and cultural change. (Kirby, *Changing Strategies for Problem-solving*, p.5.)

11. Kirby, "The Non-conversion of the Anufɔ," p.23.

12. Twelve preliminary questions were asked in "Section A" on general information. No interviewees names were recorded to ensure confidentiality and also to encourage the respondent to answer freely without fear of having to give the "right" answer or that they would "be reported" to their church leader.

13. These are questions: 15, 17, 35, 36, 37, 38, 44, 52.

14. Questions 10, 20, 54, 57, 58. These were based on questions from Kirby, *Changing Strategies for Problem Solving*, Appendix I, Survey Questions.

15. It was not possible to choose respondents randomly from every church, because many of the newer churches do not have a register of names of members and in Accra, many Kasena live in temporary, rented housing or with family. Furthermore, there was insufficient time to try and organise random selection of respondents as these interviews were only undertaken during the last two and a half months of my field work. In Accra, I instructed the assistants to interview church goers of any denomination. As some Kasena work in two jobs, this proved difficult and the assistants relied on contact information to find Kasena church goers. It also meant, that the assistants conducted some interviews at work places which was potentially disturbing if they were traders and had people coming to buy things. The assistants tried to interview people by themselves, but this did not always prove possible, especially as there is little room for privacy in areas of Accra such as Nima. In the north, the three interviewers had an easier task in locating people to interview. However, as it was the farming season, it was often difficult to find people during the day. Each helper interviewed in his own denomination and one other. The assistant in Navrongo and Paga, attempted to find people of any denomination.

16. Kirby only used a Muslim and a Christian to administer his interviews. Although using five helpers risked greater inconsistency in results, I faced the pressure of completing the interviews within two months. I also wanted to interview people from all the main denominations working among the Kasena therefore selected helpers to give confidence in each of the denominations, that this study was not being done to benefit any individual denomination.

17. These three men tested this initially in Accra before we refined it. When the interviews were started in the north, one introductory question had to be altered. The helpers usually only conducted 2 to 3 interviews per day as the interviews generally took between one and two hours. I attempted to collect the interviews each day and discussed the answers to each question with the interviewer. Fr. Kirby's method differed as his helpers took no notes and reported to him after each interview. It was not possible for this to be done, especially in Accra, where three men interviewed in different locations of the city and there were still considerable logistical difficulties

in collecting the interviews from the three areas every day. All five men were given initial training in the process of interviewing and were also given written guidelines about what to do during the interview. All questions were open-ended descriptive questions, except for three "closed" questions at the end of the interview requiring "yes/no" answers. They were instructed to record the answers themselves and not to give out the interview sheets or allow respondents to write in answers. The interviewers wrote most of the answers in English. However, they were free to write in Kasem anything for which there was no clear equivalent in English. Thus some answers were written in Kasem. When the interview schedule was printed after the pilot test in the south, possible alternative responses were typed on the sheets for 16 of the questions, to help speed up recording of the answers. The interviewers were instructed not to relate these categories to the respondent, but only to record the answer. This did not limit the response to those categories, as interviewers also recorded any response an interviewee gave.

18. Kirby, "Changing Strategies for Problem-solving," p.13.

19. *Ibid*, p.12.

20. Kirby, The Non-conversion of the Anufo, p.21.

21. Kirby, Changing strategies for problem-solving, p.13.

22. Traditionally, *liri* is used to protect farms, but this *liri* has harmful effects, immobilising or even killing people. The giving of tithes therefore has no traditional intention because the giver does not believe there is a vindictive side effect in harming individuals. Instead it results in the blessing of God to the giver. Kirby only uses the "syncretistic solutions" as a category, but in the Kasena interviews, it was clear from some responses the person's intention was not to identify with the traditional solution.

23. Kirby, "The Non-conversion of the Anufo," p.23.

24. Only 9 interviewees had never been to the south. Twenty-nine interviewed in the south had first migrated there before 1975.

25. No detailed tables of denominational responses are presented because insufficient numbers were interviewed for many of the denominations.

26. Kirby, "The Non-conversion of the Anufo," p.21.

27. Okorocha, *The Meaning of Religious Conversion*, p.279.

28. Peter McKenzie, *The Christians: their practices and beliefs*, London, SPCK, 1988, p.132.

29. Pers. obs., GN Abulu, 10-11-1991.

30. Some examples of passage(s) and themes include:

7-10-1991	GN Saga	Matt 13:47-48; 1 Jn 1:5-10; 3:1;2:17; 1 Pet 3:1. Be like good fish. God chooses people because of their heart, not clothes or riches.
17-11-1991	PCG Asunia	Dan 13:1-3; Heb 10:11-18; Mk 13:24. Evangelisation.
1-12-1991	AOG Navro	1 Cor 6:14; 2 Cor 4:14; Is 53; Joel 2:28,29; Rom 10:12-14; 1 Cor 15:50-58. Power that raised Jesus from death. Power of Jesus and Holy Spirit today.
29-12-1991	PCG Navro	Lk 2:41-52. Are you God's child?
22-3-1992	COLM	1 Cor 3:16-18. Jesus Saviour; God's Holy Spirit in us.
	Abulu	Protect ourselves with the ten commandments.
29-3-1992	PCG Paga	Matt 15:1-7. Cannot hide anything from Jesus.
5-4-1992	AOG Buru	Jn 4:33-34; Heb 13:4; Gen 49:10. Jesus is "Shiloh"; he chooses people to come to him.
12-4-1992	RC Asunia	Readings from Is, Phil., Jn. Jesus suffering.
26-4-1992	CP Navro	1 Kings 8:23-25. Let us move with the message. Christ died for sins.
3-5-1992	GN	Jn 14:1-4; Lk 2:14; Jn 4:36; Phil 4:7; Col 3:15; Mal 2:6;
	Adasong	Num 6:26. Do not be anxious. Peace.
10-5-1992	GN Abeka	Selected verses from Dan 1-6 to learn from Daniel's life;
	Accra	self-control; knowledge; prayer; blessing; trustworthy.
9-8-1992	Ch of Christ Navro	Ps 37; Acts 17:27; 1 Jn 5:14,15. Prayer - 5 steps.
6-9-1992	Deeper Life Navro	Jn 13:3-17; Phil 2:3-11; Ps 12:3; Ps 31:23; 119:21; Prov 8:13; 11:2, 13:10 ... Humility and the danger of pride.

31. This is particularly evident in the RC Church, but also in the COLM.

32. All the Protestant churches place great emphasis on Bible study. Often this is conducted before the main service (PCG, Deeper Life and AOG in Navrongo each have Kasem groups) in addition to meeting during the week.

33. This is a characteristic of the Pentecostal and independent groups such as COLM.

34. Pers. com., Symon Bukari, Navrongo, 13-11-1991. He told me the whole story in English.

35. Abraham Berinyuu describes divination as "an African therapy" in which the therapist discovers the cause of your misfortune. (A.Berinyuu, *Towards Theory and Practice of Pastoral Counseling in Africa*, Frankfurt, Peter Lang, 1989, p.45.)

36. In the PQI interviews, there were a few examples of Kasena referring to Scriptures in relationship to their problems.

37. GN churches emphasize learning Bible "memory verses" and people frequently use the English expression for this when speaking Kasem. The composer equates "Memory verses" with the "sword of the Spirit which is the word of God." Eph 6:17.

38. Diana Abanapawo.
39. The Kalivio GN singers composed the song telling how God gave children to Abraham. Some statements in the song included:
O tiŋ ni (He 'deposited mouth' [promised]) Abraham a child.
He and his wife Sarah, they were every old and Abraham didn't have a child.
God has power, Sarah delivered a child...
Let us know God, God gives us children.
The *tangwam* can't give us children.
(Kalivio Gugoro, 19-12-1991)
40. Sung Kania GNC.
41. Sung AOG Navrongo service, Paga-Buru service.
42. Sung Asunia GNC.
43. Okorocha, *The Meaning of Religious Conversion*, p.51.
44. Prayer is the main response in every block of topics illustrated in Tables in Appendix 10 with the exception of marriage (Table 10), funerals (Table 16) and a number of individual questions on other tables such as *sweri puga*, what to give landowners, *chira* "ask" and anger. This emphasis on prayer also occurred in PH interviews.
45. Pers. obs., Chiana Saboro, 1-1-1992.
46. Shank, "African Christian religious itinerary," p.151.
47. Okorocha, *The Meaning of Religious Conversion*, p.50.
48. Pers. obs., GN Asunia, 2-10-1991.
49. Appendix 10, Table 21. Sixty-nine percent of the interviewees would pray for protection from thieves (47), and they also ask God to identify the thief (42). Sixty-seven people specifically state they will pray for God to reveal the person to them, while 25 state "pray and watch for the person". Several indicate they would "take an oath with God" or ask the "sumsumbia" to reveal the person. Of the 152 (77.9%) orthodox solutions for jealousy (36), people mainly stress "pray for protection".
50. Jealousy has deep spiritual significance. Traditionally, a person would obtain *yisena liri* ("red eyes medicine") or a *kwara* for protection against a jealous person. Six people state they will pray that God would "punish", "speak to", "change" or "reveal the person".
51. Awedoba, *Aspects of Wealth and Exchange*, p.294.

52. Appendix 10, Table 21. 167 (85.6%) state they will "pray" and nearly half would ask God to reveal the meaning and 15 (7.7%) who gave synthesist answers would pray and use Holy Water or incense to cleanse the room or ask beggars to pray or look for the meaning in a book which gives meanings to dreams.

53. Appendix 10, Table 19, 112 (57.4%) Christians gave this as their answer to the question on building a house (39).

54. Appendix 10, Tables 19, 21, questions 38, 34, 44. The emphasis on hard work was also reflected in PH interviews. Mary Bukari stated, "we accepted our hard time and worked together. We sewed mattresses and went to the bush and carried grass back to put inside... and take them to market to sell. When people bought, we used the money to buy what we needed little by little." She also related how the CP church teaches women how to make a little money to supplement their income through trading, selling firewood and making products. The RC church has had a similar emphasis in their women's groups.

55. At least 33 people replied in this way and were classified as "synthetist" answers. (Table 21)

56. Eleven people replied this way. Some respondents said that if they dream and see a lotto number, they "stake it".

57. The highest percentage occurs in the response to question 45 on how a Christian would protect themselves from constant difficulties (Table 21). Twenty-nine (14%) reply they will fast, of whom 15 are members of the AOG. The remainder came from COLM, Deeper Life, Church of Christ, GN, PC and RC churches.

58. McKenzie, *The Christians*, p.157.

59. Appendix 10, Table 23. Fifty-eight people indicate they would "drink" of whom 16 also add "pray, repent". Of the 117 who state "refuse to drink", 63 gave no reason; 20 say they will "pray"; 26 will explain why not and the remainder will run from the house, go to the police, or deny that they are a *chero*. Therefore some who refuse to drink are classified as "synthetist" solutions. Sixteen others gave alternative replies. Thirteen people would either pray or ask the church leader to come and explain. Only 2 indicated they would "swear with Bible or cross. In all the answers related to oaths, only a small number of people stated they would take an oath on a Bible or swear by the cross. This is in contrast to Okorocho's study on the Igbo, where he states that today, Christians often take oaths on the Bible, because of the power they believe it has (Okorocho, *The Meaning of Religious Conversion*, pp.108, 109).

60. McKenzie, *The Christians*, p.225

61. Kirby, *The Non-conversion of the Anufo*, p.23.

62. Ayaga, 'Suem', p.19.

63. Pers. com., Francis Kupoe, 21-10-1991.

64. The couple are given the opportunity to tell those present how God helped or blessed them, especially in relation to the pregnancy.

65. See Appendix 10, Table 9. There were 116 "orthodox" replies. Twenty-one specifically state that they would ask Christians to come to their family house to pray for, dedicate or name the child. I have observed after a GN church service, Christians go and pray with a young woman, her new born child and her house members.

66. Pers. obs., AOG Navrongo, 1-12-1991.

67. Pers. obs., Kalivio, 19-12-1991.

68. A woman asked a church leader if she could collect *teim* (medicine) when her son's wife delivered a child as her family were *chichiru dui* (the "spirit family" explained in Chapter three). The church leader replied that they would sit with the husband and explain that Christians did not do this.

69. Ayaga, 'Suem', p.20.

70. *Ibid.*

71. Appendix 10, Table 9. Nearly 20 percent (37) of all respondents resort to the traditional solution of calling the *chichiru kwenu* (*chichiru* taker) to come and "take" the *chichiru*. All 19 (9.7%) syntheist-syncretist answers clearly believe God made the child as a *chichiru* and would pray and call the *chichiru kwenu*, or take some other protective action such as "spray Holy Water", "pray God would change the child into a human", "leave the house" or "let the house people do what they want." Most of the 84 (43.1%) who give orthodox replies would pray, contact a doctor and/or a church leader for prayer and advice.

72. Atadana, Kassena Funeral Rites, p.24.

73. Appendix 10, Table 10. Only 43 people (23%) mention a "wedding" in the question on the things used to "make the marriage" (16). Answers are almost evenly divided between traditional, syntheist and orthodox solutions with only 64 (32.8%) people marrying "as Christians" with either a wedding or giving some of the traditional gifts.

74. Kazaresam, The Kasena of Ghana, p.97.

75. *Ibid.*, p.98.

76. Only 84 (43%) people refuse to marry by capture, although 50 percent of the women state they will run home if caught (Appendix 10, Table 11). Twenty-three women would not run but marry as Christians, 6 would pray and consult Christians, and three women accepted the possibility of being caught, but stated this was not the

Christian way to marry and they would run home. Some indicated that they would inform the parents and make the normal greetings after they had run. Others replied they would run to the south, have children and then no one could stop their marriage.

77. Kazaresam, *The Kasena of Ghana*, p.55.

78. Three categories of answer emerge (Appendix 10, Table 14). (i) Fourteen (7.2%) would leave their partner especially if the spouse refuses to attend church or repent which illustrates why some men or women do not like their partner to become a Christian. A church leader related how a man became angry when his wife became a Christian. The leader stated "he heard that when you follow Christ you separate from your husband." The leader added, "We prayed for her and sat with them and taught the word of God. He agreed. Later the husband became very sick. Through the prayer of the wife, the husband became well and then he agreed to allow her to come to church." (ii) Seventy-one (43%) people imply a strong element of coercion to "make the partner go to church", "convert them" or "perform a wedding". More than 50 percent of the men reply in this way in contrast to only 20 percent of the women. (iii) Of the 46 percent who would accept their partner, pray for them, respect and invite to church, two-thirds are women in contrast to only one-third of the men.

79. Kazaresam, *The Kasena of Ghana*, p.95.

80. *Ibid*, p.96. Fr. Kazaresam himself coordinated a series of studies on northern marriages. The Catholic Lay Apostolate Council then organised a seminar on marriage and tried to identify the essential features of marriage amongst the many ethnic groups in the Diocese. Joseph Adabayeri cautioned participants that they had not chosen the theme to "try and make customary marriage acceptable to Christianity." (J.Adabayere, Introduction, in A.Kazaresam, *Customary Marriage*, n.d.) He suggested the purpose was to make Christian marriage acceptable so "the Gospel message may be spread everywhere for the glory of God to enable all our people to share in Christ's saving Redemption." (*Ibid*.)

81. Kazaresam, *The Kasena of Ghana*, p.29. A.W.Cardinall claimed that in Kasena marriage there was no definite price "with the result that almost invariably a girl will, on returning to her father's compound for funeral customs, etc., be given to another man." (Cardinall, *Natives of the Northern Territories*, p.76). Kazaresam (*The Kasena of Ghana*, p.22) and S.Navrose (in Kazaresam, *Customary Marriage*) both state that the birth of the first child, followed by 'gongna' legalizes the marriage. This ritual is where the bride's brothers come to the bridegroom house to collect a number of animals. I found in the Chiana area that the *tebera* and two sheep (*jon pia* and *kadiko pia*) were the most critical parts of the gifts for legalising the marriage (Howell, *Marriage Practices*, p.17). The government had limited gifts in Navrongo to 7 sheep. (Gagnon, *Moeurs et Coutumes*, pp.38,39).

82. Kazaresam, *The Kasena of Ghana*, p.24.

83. *Ibid.* Fr. Gagnon studied the situation and pointed out that Kasena men took their daughters away because the husbands habitually maltreated them (Gagnon, *Moeurs et Coutumes*, p.41). Fr. Kazaresam supports what Gagnon wrote and describes the causes of divorce as cruelty by the husband, insufficient support for the wife, unfaithfulness, witchcraft (women get blamed) and laziness (Kazaresam, *The Kasena of Ghana*, p.26).

84. *Ibid.*, p.29.

85. When people make an oath with a *tangwam*, they *tiŋ ni dedaane tangwane* (put down mouth with the *tangwam*).

86. Onchocerciasis has been a significant problem in the area in the past.

87. A frequent complaint from many women is that a husband does not provide a woman with adequate food and rarely gives her cloth.

88. Appendix 10, Table 16. Only 11 people would refuse to attend their father or mother's funeral rites (3). Of the 183 who would go, 4 gave no details, 77 (39.5%) say they would contribute food, invite Christians and serve them with food, and give gifts but not be involved with *kaanem*. Eighty (41.0%) would perform the funeral including at least one of the following practices: *feri ne*, performing the *fulim*, eating the various *gula* (food used in *kaanem*), or war dance (*lare lilare*). The other 22 (11.3%) made statements such as: "bless the food before eating", "perform, pray for forgiveness", or would do aspects of the funeral that other Christians would not, such as talking at the grave to the dead person.

89. Appendix 10, Table 16. Sixty-nine (35.4%) indicate that the widow should complete the traditional rites. Of the 88 (45.1%) orthodox responses, 66 said they should not do any traditional practices. Some express uncertainty and most give no other suggestions as to what the widow should do. Only seven respondents indicate that they would pray or ask Christians to come or advise the widow to be in the house to receive visitors and give them food. Fifteen (8.2%) state they do not know what to do at all. When asked about the widow's choice of husband (14), the answers are complex (Appendix 10, Table 15). Of the 122 who agree that the widow should marry, more than half suggest that she marry traditionally from the family. Only 13 specifically mention she should marry a Christian, although others do refer to marrying unmarried men. Children are a key consideration in many solutions, because traditionally they belong to the husband's family.

90. Haliburton, *The Prophet Harris*, p.120.

91. *Ibid.*

92. Atadana, *Kassena Funeral Rites*, p.27.

93. *Ibid.* He claims that non-believers contest that either all the rites are performed or none at all. He also points out that some Christians say they are only helping the food rites which are not against their faith, but Atadana argues "the food in question is used in rites contradictory to the faith."

94. Kazaresam, The Kasena of Ghana, pp.38, 95.

95. *Ibid.* p.49.

96. *Ibid.* p.122.

97. Plural *bayaa*. These people not only dig graves, but they also place the body in the grave. Prior to the burial they may also be called to move the body. In Chiana, gravediggers are referred to as *vayaga* (sing.) *vayε* (pl.)

98. Abasi, Bayaaro among the Kasena, p.24.

99. Abasi also regards nurses as "not qualified culturally to handle corpses." (*Ibid.*, p.34) He thus implies the Kasena have a closed cultural system. However, this needs to be more closely examined. Do the Kasena accept there is change and that those in hospitals by virtue of their 'initiation' as nurses are qualified to carry corpses in that environment?

100. *Ibid.* p.38.

101. In one case, a Christian woman died. Her husband was not a Christian, but his eldest son was. He wanted her buried by the church in the vicinity of the house, but when the Christians arrived, the clan elders refused on the grounds that she was "not their child."

102. Of the 133 who give "orthodox" answers, to *sweri puga*, 89 people refuse to *sweri puga* but give no explanation. Only 11 indicate they will positively explain to their house people their reason for refusal. Others state that they will tell them they are Christians or go to church. One person specifically states he will send the pregnant woman to church for prayer, but he will also ask Christians to come to the house to explain (Appendix 10, Table 9).

103. Over all, 140 (81 percent) people stated they would refuse the *yugu wε*. Only 24 people mentioned prayer and a few stated they would call other Christians or the church leader. Many respondents qualified their refusal with strong statements, such as: "chase *voro* away", "die rather than accept", "tell him God is up not down", "offend *voro*".

104. Only 6 people would pray for their house people to change their mind and two of these would take them to court or the chief's house. Another 32 (16.4%) gave "secular" responses indicating they would demand their right of inheritance and take those refusing to give them their share to court, to the chief or report it to the police. In the synthetist responses twelve (6.2%) stated they would collect the things either

through telling the elders they would sacrifice, but then not, or after collecting the things, either throw the *jona* away, or ask someone else to sacrifice for them (Appendix 10, Table 16)..

105. In 38 percent of the replies to sudden sickness(Appendix 10, Tables 18) and 43 percent of the answers to bad dreams (33), Christians state they would call other Christians to help or pray for them. This is also reflected in the PH interviews. Most of the Christians who give "orthodox" answers (135 - 69.2%) to the problem of barrenness (48), would pray, call Christians or church leaders for prayer and most would go to the doctor. (Table 9)

106. WFD:9-11-1952.

107. *Ibid* and 16-11-1952.

108. McKenzie, *The Christians*, p.48.

109. This is particularly the case with the CP, GN and COLM where Christians have constructed their own buildings. Only GN received substantial assistance with their Bible Training Centre, but the Christians did most of the construction themselves. The locations of buildings are designated through negotiations with the *tega tu*.

110. D. Savage, Navrongo Cathedral, Ghana, West Africa, Unpublished ms, copy at Navrongo Cathedral, 1992, p.3. This is a study of the artwork in the Cathedral. It was undertaken specifically to publicise the need to rehabilitate the Cathedral.

111. Pers. com., B. Abavang, Gugoro, 16-2-992.

112. The COLM places significance in the symbol of the holy mountain. Each year members travel to Accra if they can afford it, for the COLM annual meeting on a "Mountain" (Taborah) close to Accra.

113. Pers. obs., An announcement was made at the end of a CP service that the next Friday both groups would join together in the forest specifically to pray for Ghana and the political elections. CP Navrongo, 26-4-1992.

114. *Chulul/chullu* - custom, tradition, rule, taboo. *Ko chula* - it is forbidden. Appendix 9, Table 23. Some who would eat add that they will only do so if they know there is no *kaanem* involved.

115. Seven people indicated they would use the "black stone" to treat snake bite (13), in addition to either praying or going to hospital. Some Christians will not use the stone because they say it is associated with evil powers. However, those who do use it, justify its use because of prayer in God's name.

116. Appendix 10, Table 19. Thirty-one people stated they would fast and two people would ask for mass.

117. What will you do if you think the *chira* will ask you?(8) If the *chira* are angry with you, what will you do to protect yourself?(41) If a *chero* wants to catch your soul, what will you do to protect yourself?(18) If you think a person uses *dola* (throwing medicine) to throw at you, what will you do?(35) If a person offends the *chira*, often by failing to *kaane jona*, the *chira* "ask" the person about it, just as a parent would "ask" a child who had done wrong. However, the *chira* communicate their "asking" through punishment by sending sickness or some other problem. *Chira* anger is closely related, but the anger is vented through sickness or some other crisis inflicting a house member.

118. Pers. obs., Katiu Saga, 7-12-1991.

119. These replies were classified as syncretist-syncretist.

120. Blacksmith's stone shrine.

121. Kukula is the river *tangwam* at Kayoro. The interview was conducted in English and therefore, the expressions quoted are his actual words and not my translation.

122. A church leader prayed and asked God to chase *setaane* away. (Pers. obs., GN, Saga 9-10-1991). Two songs I have heard in the pentecostal, GN and PCG churches are "*Setaane Yezu jaj, Yezu jaj o de*" (Satan and Jesus wrestle, Jesus wrestles, he puts down" and "*Vei da, vei da, Setaane vei a kwo sɔŋɔ ne*" (Go, go, Satan go to my father's house).

123. Pers. obs., CP Asunia, 20-10-1991.

124. McKenzie, *The Christians*, p.77.

125. Twenty-four percent of the respondents to the question on barrenness said they would pray and take an action such as going to a *tangwam* or taking Kasena *liri*.

126. 2 Kings 5:1-15.

127. This literally means 'one-stomach', but it is the expression used for belief and faith depending on its context.

128. The church leader referred to the story of the people waiting to be healed at the Pool of Bethesda from John 5:1-9, he referred to it as the pool of Siloam.

129. 2 Cor. 12:7-10.

130. Question 58, "How do you know when to *kaane*?"

131. Pers. com., R.Ali, Adasong, 20-4-1992.

132. Anthony also said to them "When we stop it is a big block crossing us not to follow God again, but we should try to break that block so that we continue." (R. Ali, Adasong, 20-4-1992.)

133. Pers. com., Raymond Ali, Adasong, 20-4-1992.

134. A man gave me a list of actions he classified as wrongdoing and after each one said *Ko ye wo-balɔɔ. Ko ta ye setaane* (It is a bad thing. It is "satan".) (Wolentera, 5-12-1984) Scattered through the answers to most questions on the spiritual powers were statements such as: "pray against evil"; "*chira* are evil spirits"; "some *tangwana* are evil"; "Jesus guards, *tangwam* is Satan's agent"; "It [*tangwam*] is *setaane*"; "they want to bring Satan on you"; "pray God to drive away Satanic forces"; "pray that God will not let Satan come"; "tell satan's people [referring to his house people]...; and "pray against Satan".

135. R.Gray, *Black Christians and White Missionaries*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1990, p.101.

136. *Ibid.*

137. One *voro* explained to me that many people do not want to become a *voro* because some individuals come and ask "what will I do so that my child will die?" The *voro* asked me, "Will it be good to go to *vora* and *kaane* to kill friends? If you go to *voro*'s house and say 'work so that my friend's child will die', and if you also have children, if someone does that to you, will it be good?"

138. Gray, *Black Christians*, p.102.

139. *Ibid.*

140. Gray refers to examples provided by W. de Craemer, J. Vansima and R.C. Fox, "Religious Movements in Central Africa: a Theoretical Study", *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 18, 1976, pp.458-475.

141. Kayoro GNC (sung at Saga).

142. Adasong GNC service - author unknown.

143. Gray, *Black Christians*, p.105, see also p.116.

144. Sung at Wurunia GNC prayer meeting.

145. E.Mendonsa, *The Politics of Divination*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1982, pp.142,143 and A.Berinyuu, *Towards Theory and Practice of Pastoral Counseling in Africa*, Frankfurt, Peter Lang, 1989, pp.48,62.

146. Berinyuu, *Towards Theory and Practice*, p.45.

147. *Ibid.*, p.48.

148. *Ibid.*

149. Shank, African Christian religious itinerary, pp.151, 152.

150. Diana Abanapawo. The image of the "wall of sin" referred to in the song comes from the Filmstrip of the "Wall of sin" which also had an impact on the Adasong GN church.
151. Sung Adasong GNC.
152. Sung GNC Saboro.
153. Sung Saboro GNC.
154. Diana Abanapawo. Written because she was in difficulty and cried out to God for help.
155. Sung Asunia GNC.
156. Appendix 10, Table 23, Qn 19. More than 26 percent of the answers contained a statement showing God was the one to judge or reveal who was a *chero*.
157. Adasong GNC service - author unknown.
158. Diana Abanapawo.
159. James Kachinga, GN, Saboro, 30-7-1992.
160. Pers. obs., GN Chiana Kalivio, 28-7-1985.
161. Eight people mention that a *chero* cannot catch their soul because they are covered by the blood of Jesus, they would pray that Jesus blood would destroy the *chero* or that his blood would protect them from *chero*.
162. Sung by a group from Saga at Wurunia.
163. Sung Saboro GNC. This is only the first few lines of the song. The theme of the song is the power of God and the fact that one day Jesus will return to earth, but we do not know when.
164. Diana Abanapawo.
165. Sung COLM Kalivio
166. Sung COLM Abulu.
167. Shank, African Religious Itinerary, p.161.
168. GN Asunia, 20-10-1991; GN Saboro, 3-11-1991; AOG Navrongo, 1-12-1991; CP Kayoro, 21-1-1991; COLM Abulu, 22-3-1992; AOG Paga-buru, 5-4-1992; GN Abeka, 28-6-1992.

169. Sung Wurunia prayer meeting; Kalivio GNC. *Sinlaao* and *zorolao* are both used for 'Holy Spirit'.

170. After the service the leader told me that there was no moon at the time and people had been saying they had seen *jiiru* at the borehole. The old men called everyone out and sacrificed at the *tangwam* and swore an oath so the land and the *tangwam* would catch the *jiiru* and change them into humans. The elders also told the church leader about it as well and he told them he would "put it to the church to pray." (Pers. obs., 1-3-1992).

171. Meyer Fortes claims that among the Tallensi, there is a particular ritual of "sweeping away" bad Predestiny to "Make way for its reversal." (M.Fortes, "Coping with Destiny," in M.Fortes, *Religion, morality and the person: Essays on Tallensi religion*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1987, p.149.)

172. The English word "luck" is used in conversation to refer to "Destiny". Sometimes you will here a Kasena say *N ba jege luki* (you don't have luck) when they are referring to *yuu chichira* (destiny). The expression *yuu chichira* is distinct from *yuu yogo* ("head sweetness [luck]") meaning "good fortune" which is not connected with pre-determined destiny. One man explained *yuu chichira* to me by saying "There is a belief that the way a person is blessed or cursed is due to some force that gave it to him before he came to into this world. If it is bad, then everything will be bad. If good then everything good. The general belief is that you can't change it."

173. Awedoba, *Aspects of Wealth and Exchange*, p.297.

174. Sixteen state they would do nothing but no reasons are recorded for this and 8 people claim their *yuu chichira* is good or they do not wish to change it. Only 5 people do not believe in *yuu chichira* at all and 6 state that Christians do not have *chichiri* as only God is in them.

175. GEC, *National Church Survey*, p.113.

176. Diana Abanapawo.

177. Diana Abanapawo.

178. Walls, *The Significance of Christianity in Africa*, p.19.

179. *Ibid.*

180. Pers. com., Blankson Abavang, Gugoro, 16-2-1992.

181. Walls, *The Significance of Christianity in Africa*, p.10.

182. Shank, "African Christian religious itinerary," p.155.

183. Thailand Report, *Christian Witness to people of African Traditional Religions*, p.17.
184. Haliburton, *The Prophet Harris*, p.118. Haliburton also indicates he "condemned all spirits, regardless of type, ... condemned every type of worship or act of respect towards spirits, such as pouring of libations..." *Ibid*, p.212.
185. Walls, *The Significance of Christianity in Africa*, p.10.
186. Haliburton, *The Prophet Harris*, p.54.
187. Walls, *The Significance of Christianity in Africa*, p.18.
188. L. Noble, *Naked and Not Ashamed*, Jackson, Michigan, 1975, p.82.
189. Walls, *The Significance of Christianity in Africa*, p.20.
190. Kazaresam, *The Kasena of Ghana*, p.56.
191. *Ibid*, p.49.
192. A.Walls, "The Translation Principle in Christian History," in P.Stine (ed), *Bible Translation and the spread of the Church: the last 200 years*, Leiden, E.J.Brill, 1990, p.25.
193. *Ibid*.
194. *Ibid*, p.26.

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE KASENA AND THE CHRISTIAN GOSPEL IMPLICATIONS AND CHALLENGES

1. Introduction

The initial reasons for Kasena following *We choga* are highly varied. This is not unique to the Kasena. John Peel found among both the Ijebu of Nigeria and Baganda of Uganda that there was no single or simple explanation for conversion to Christianity.¹ We have seen in the Kasena story, the active role which lay people, both men and women, have played in communicating the gospel of Jesus Christ to their families and friends, particularly in the last 15 years. This pattern replicates what has occurred in other centuries. John Foster illustrates how Christianity swiftly spread in the first and second centuries because lay people purposefully used "the ordinary contacts of life to influence their non-Christian neighbours."²

The spiritual powers in the Kasena traditional world are closely interconnected with their physical realm and their cultural system. The gospel message the Kasena heard challenged their existent ways of resolving problems. New problems arose because Kasena faced issues which they had not encountered before. What they did not understand, they questioned, and where they feared to question, they preferred to cling to old values rather than risk the wrath of spiritual powers. People raised questions about the whole nature of the spirit realm. Conflicts arose within some families; husbands accused their wives of being unfaithful and fathers accused their children of being disloyal to their fathers' ways. Kasena Christians searched for the "key to conduct" to know how to react to problems they faced. These experiences too are not peculiar to the Kasena, for the Bobo of Burkina Faso in this century as well as Christians in the second century encountered similar situations.³

A number of the features are evident within the Kasena story which have

implications for communicating the gospel, appropriating Christian truth and the development of theology in other contexts. Some of these features interlink in such a way that they enable us to discern a pattern within the Christian religious itinerary and thus to portray it schematically. The Kasena story is neither unique nor isolated and aspects of the Kasena itinerary and theology parallel the experiences of peoples as diverse as the Bobo of Burkina Faso and the Franks and Anglo-Saxons of Europe. Knowledge of the Kasena experience enables us to look afresh at the conversion experiences of European peoples and to examine challenges for the Kasena from European stories.

2. Implications of the Kasena experience for communicating the gospel and theology

(1) The power of the "homeland" and language on city dwellers: implications for the expression of the gospel in cities and towns.

During the past century, thousands of Kasena have migrated to southern cities and rural areas with a high percentage returning to their homeland at some point in time. In spite of the long history of Christianity in the south of Ghana, the gospel made little impression on the vast majority of Kasena who migrated there. This was largely because most Kasena did not have a sufficient grasp of English or of southern languages to explore spiritual issues in depth; this requires a much deeper level of language than market language. In addition, most southern churches are dominated by single ethnic groups and Kasena complained of not feeling welcome. Prior to 1988, only RC, AOG and GN churches catered for the needs of northern Ghanaians in southern Ghana, furthermore, the Kasena maintained strong links with the homeland, particularly in respect to their religious beliefs. Migration to the south brought changes to Kasena family life, but Kasena migrants largely retained core ideas and beliefs central to their religious expression. Even with Kasena born in the south, many parents wanted their children to continue their "fathers' traditions" and so Kasem remained their mother-tongue or the children were sent north either for schooling or to live in the family *sɔŋɔ*. The Kasena who began to follow *Wɛ choŋa* in the south

expressed how much more difficult it is to be a Christian in the north in the context of their *sɔŋɔ*. Some women even refused to be baptised because they feared the consequences of being unable to fulfil filial obligations in parents' funeral rites.

Cyclical migration between cities and the "homeland" is not unique to the Kasena, but is a widespread phenomenon throughout Africa. The power of the homeland and mother-tongue in the core expression of religious belief has immense implications for communicating the gospel in cities and for Christians' ongoing religious itinerary. The Church faces a colossal task to meet language needs, but not to polarise Christians along ethnic lines and thus lose the richness of the Gospel message expressed in the corporate body of Christ.

(2) Exploring problems, questions and issues and the search for a key to conduct: implications for theology.

Whenever people are exposed to the gospel of Jesus Christ, they will ask questions and be confronted by problems. Their search for a "key to conduct" will predominate much of their new Christian journey and is characteristic of the new Christians' effort to understand God's relevance for every aspect of life. At times church leaders and missionaries brush questions aside or perceive responding to problems as somewhat peripheral to the task of theology, implying that this activity belongs to a domain called "pastoral counselling". When Fr. Gagnon wrote about Kasena beliefs and practices related to God, the ancestors and spirits, he stated that "il ne faut pas rire de ces coutumes payennes, mais en démontrer l'inutilité et leur inconsequence sans irriter les payens."⁴ Gagnon gives no details as to how he demonstrated their uselessness, but Fr. Kazaresam argues that the missionaries misunderstood and condemned the Kasena relationship to their ancestors as idolatry.⁵ He suggests that if missionaries had studied the culture, they would have discovered that not only did people distinguish between the ancestors and the Supreme being, but more significantly "sacrifices" made to ancestors were "distinct from 'sacrifice' in the Christian sense which must be reserved to God alone."⁶ Kazaresam describes the

Kasena relationship to the ancestors as "a kind of honour given to the 'heroes' of the family or clan."⁷ The Catholic missionaries taught that Christ was the unique mediator, but they then introduced "Western Saints as intercessors between men and God." Therefore, the "African Christian failed to see why he should pray through the 'Western saints' and not through his ancestors."⁸

Some Kasena also heard that ancestral spirits or other powers do not exist. Cyril Okorocha denounces the statement that the "gods of our fathers 'simply do not exist:..'" as "unsympathetic aggression"⁹ for it does not theologically resolve issues of the past faith. He asks, "Is it enough to assert that the spiritual forces are powerless when the people witness their power in the cadence of their daily existence?" To which he replies that "It is not enough to tell people that these spirits do not exist; they *feel* their existence."¹⁰ The large attraction of Kasena to the "*Wε bu*" movement in the 1950s illustrates how powerfully they felt the presence of spirits.

In the Kasena experience most of the problems and questions centred around real life situations but also related to the spiritual realm. These situations provide the basis for theological formation for "theology is about testing your actions by Scripture."¹¹ This comment arises from A.F.Walls' discussion on the tension between the indigenising and the pilgrim principles for the future of Christian theology. He argues that "because of the relation of theology to action, theology arises out of situations that actually happen, not from broad general principles."¹² Kwame Bediako supports this contention in his seminal comparative study of modern African Christianity and Graeco-Roman Christianity of the second century which "attempts to validate the claim that theology is called to deal always with culturally-rooted questions."¹³ According to Charles Taber, the theologian "is called upon, long before doing any kind of systematic theology, to assess the life and testimony of the church, and to address himself, in the communion of believers, to the issues and problems that face the church and to the opportunities and challenges that it will try to meet."¹⁴ Paul Hiebert reacts to this statement and implies that answering questions is less crucial to the theologians' task. "Theologians", he argues, "must do more than answer new

questions. They must make the message of the Gospel clear in cultural categories that do not correspond even remotely with those used in the Bible."¹⁵ The task, he suggests focuses on selecting appropriate theological terms, for example, for "God" or for referring to Christ's sacrificial death. But if a theologian answers a Kasena question "What shall I do with my ancestors?" in Kasem, he or she is forced to grapple with Kasena concepts of sacrifice and their terms for God. Therefore, searching out terms and concepts is part of the task of answering questions.

When the Bobo of Burkina Faso heard the Christian message, they posed many questions. Anselme Sanon argues that, "ce serait une grave illusion de traiter ces questions en passant, sous prétexte qu'elles signalent une crise de croissance: car si ces questions demeurent sans réponse, ce sera un des signes que la présence de l'Evangile a été inefficace dans nos milieux."¹⁶ He adds "il devenait urgent de répondre d'une manière chrétienne aux interrogations à partir desquelles le monde ancestral avait édifié sa structure et défini ses fonctions. Autrement dit, la conversion socio-culturelle n'était pas encore acquise."¹⁷

A question asked, or a problem presented, is often like a tiny shaft of light entering a darkened room through a crack in a shuttered window. Only a limited view of the outside is seen by simply looking through the crack. The window or door has to be opened to reveal the full background of the light coming in. There is a background to each question and issue and knowledge of this background provides the basis for theological input.

When a person asks a question about a *chero* or the *chira*, merely to reply that they do not exist, that the dead can not hurt a person or that a particular belief is "superstitious" is neither helpful nor Christian. To retort in this way or to attempt to argue in terms of logic, reason or science, fails to apply the mind of Christ to the issue. It does not reduce the fear, identify the root issues at stake, nor help individuals caught up in the problem. According to Sanon, "Il nous faut ... être alertés sur les questions que le christianisme a cru évacuer par simple négation ou explication

rationnelle, particulièrement les techniques de médiation et d'expérience religieuses."¹⁸

In the early years of the Kasena COLM, the "sumsum bia" identified not only those whose souls had been caught by *chera*, but also those who had caught others' souls. One person who had been involved in the activities related some of the consequences this had for those who were singled out as a *chero*. "He [the accused person] will accept and he will talk with his mouth what he did [as a *chero*]. We had a book and wrote it down. There was a woman who went mad and she became lost and they haven't seen her since." The manipulative identification or brutal treatment of these people can in no way be condoned. However, if a person voluntarily confesses to being a witch and relates instances of destroying people, then how is a prophet-healer, church leader or missionary to react? Walls suggests that there is a place for the skilled healer to question intensively a person who presents this as their problem. It can "bring to the surface things that are not only therapeutic but edifying."¹⁹ Walls then adds,

Witchcraft, after all, is hatred objectified. The questions reveal the hatred and the jealousy, the jealousy that rejoices when the rival's child dies. By this means hatred can be brought to the surface, acknowledged for what it is. Forgiveness, even reconciliation, can then follow. Christ is thus applied to the needs of witch and victim alike and can be acknowledged as Victor, where rationalistic explanation would be futile and a generalized assurance of divine love fall flat.

If the lost Kasena woman had voluntarily confessed to being a *chero* and someone with spiritual gifts of discernment and healing had helped her voice her jealousy or hatred, she could have then been taken through a process of forgiveness, reconciliation and restoration. Instead of the torment that drove her mad and caused her disappearance, she could have discovered the transforming and liberating power of Christ and have been re-integrated at a new level with her family. From Sanon's perspective, "le christianisme ne vient pas détruire une culture, il lui apporte une lumière révélatrice qui en démasque les ambiguïtés et les égarements."²⁰ The response to questions and problems is as crucial a part of communicating the gospel and development of theology as is grappling with concepts, the translation of terms, concepts and words, and the creation of a theological language.²¹

Sanon himself applied Scripture to the questions and problems which confronted the Bobo. He interpreted the words which Jesus addressed to his disciples to "preach the goods news to all creation" (Mark 16:15, my underlining) as referring to the entire cosmos.

Dimensions communautaires, dimensions cosmiques, telles sont les résonnances de l'Evangile prêché par les messagers du Ressuscité. En d'autres termes, les nations que le Seigneur sauvait en dehors des structures visibles de l'Eglise, accédaient à ce salut intérieurement sans doute, mais aussi aidées par leurs structures communautaires; maintenant, elles sont invitées à adhérer au salut proclamé par les Apôtres en entrant dans les structures historiques de la communauté ecclésiale.²²

The Bobo questions and problems provided Sanon with a framework to explore what he calls "la conversion culturelle". He examines a number of critical rites of passage or foundational elements of the culture: the rites of initiation, the structure of celebration of the dead (funerals) or eschatology, the celebrations related to the religion of the spirit DO, and the welcoming and hospitality structures. Sanon offers an exegesis of traditional texts of speeches made during the rituals to discover beliefs about God, the terms used in the religious itinerary of the Bobo, and, above all the religious functions and meanings of the traditional institution because it is at this level that cultural conversion takes place.²³ Sanon then examines what he has discovered in the light of relevant Scripture. This analysis is a "une exégèse chrétienne" because people begin to see the signs of the presence of God which were there already but were not clearly revealed.²⁴ To participate in this process of "cultural conversion", Sanon suggests that Christians stand outside the traditional edifice and reflect authentically on their old state and their new situation. The Christian is thus able to search out answers and solutions.

Sanon also sees translation as a critical aspect of cultural conversion in order to create a theological vocabulary that is meaningful to the hearer, but which does not result in the loss of Biblical meaning.²⁵ Through analysis of the initiation rites and their texts and the examination of these in the light of Scriptural text, he produces a Christology: Jesus, chief of initiation.²⁶ He suggests that the letter to the Hebrews

serves "as our guideline, Christ is our guide to salvation."²⁷ Hebrews 2:10 "evokes a progressive dynamics proper to initiation". Thus Sanon's Christology expresses the concept of itinerary in which "the master of initiation" is present at each step.

On this score, to say that Jesus is Chief of initiation is to recognize in him, in our particular cultural tonality, the eldest sibling who guides to perfection those who have undergone initiation - that is, those who, with him, have started down the road to their experience of the invisible through the visible, to the encounter of God through the human being, to touch eternity through the symbol of present life.²⁸

When Sanon examines the process of "conversion" of the religion of DO to the Faith of the Creed, he argues that all creation, visible and invisible, must be turned towards Christ and he refers to two passages of Scripture to support his argument. God's purpose in Christ is "to bring all things in heaven and on earth together under one head, even Christ."²⁹ This can only occur because Christ is the "first born over all creation. For by him all things were created, things in heaven and on earth, visible and invisible,..."³⁰ Sanon highlights the invisible world and argues that there is a need to examine the situation of spirits, angels and ancestors in relationship to Christ. What is significant about the stress on all things in these passages is the inclusion of the visible and invisible. This means that in Christ, the entire creation -- humans, spirits and objects such as trees -- is his creation and all is subject to his transforming power. Therefore, the gospel of Jesus Christ not only impacts human lives and the invisible realm, but also the physical environment (including the rocks, trees and rivers) and the way human beings relate to them.

In Kasena cosmology, the visible creation of humans and many objects are intricately interwoven with the invisible realm. The Kasena have a paradoxical relationship with the environment. There is deep respect and fear: the groups of trees, hills and bodies of water which have associated spiritual powers are identified as *tangwana* and these are never disturbed without the necessary ritual being performed.³¹ Many trees are not cut down casually. However, there is also wanton destruction of the bush through widespread burning, especially to assist hunting. People chop trees for firewood or to make charcoal as an economic necessity, but most people see no

point in replanting trees cut down in the bush. In recent days some people have begun to plant fruit, shade and/or firewood trees but only in the vicinity of their compounds.³²

The examples presented at the end of Chapter six of a Christian wanting to cut down a *chulu* tree because he felt he was no longer bound by the *chulu*, strengthens Lynn White Jr.'s statement that:

To a Christian a tree can be no more than a physical fact. The whole concept of the sacred grove is alien to Christianity and to the ethos of the West. For nearly two millennia Christian missionaries have been chopping down sacred groves, which are idolatrous because they assume spirit in nature.³³

White placed all the fault for the world crisis in ecology at the feet of Christianity.

Francis Schaeffer responded by acknowledging

that many 'Christians' are worse off in the area of ecology than animists, who think there are spirits in the trees and so they don't cut down trees carelessly. However, although this is true, it is not because Christianity does not have the answer, but because we have not acted on the answer ... we have not acted on the value that we know, or should know, it [the tree] has as a creature of God.³⁴

Schaeffer examines the Scriptural mandate for a Christian attitude of profound respect towards the environment because it is as much a part of God's creation as people are and because of his covenant with all creation.³⁵ Therefore, the Christian has no right to either despise nature or exploit it, but to use it accountably as something that is "borrowed or held in trust."³⁶ Therefore the problems evident in the physical world and the Kasena traditional views on the environment are subject to the process of conversion and are a highly significant route for theological discovery.

Theology starts with the asking of questions and grappling with problems, not with sermons. The theologies learnt in seminary, university and Bible School are tools - not the tool. One problem both church leaders and missionaries often face is that they are trained to communicate the gospel and to teach theology, but are often not given the tools to explore questions and problems with those who raise them. Some Christians assume that because of their training, their theology is complete and

they have answers when in reality their theology is incomplete. Thus they neglect to fully explore what is behind the question or problem.

(3) The implications of language for theology

After Kasem Scriptures became available, Christians began to examine issues and interpret Scripture for themselves. When some Christians read Scripture they identified activities within their church which were not evident in Scripture. They subsequently changed church, not because they looked for greater power, but because they sought to obey truth. When Scriptures are not available for people to read for themselves, or not applied, they are left with no alternative but to interpret issues in the light of their former ideas, beliefs and knowledge. Christians use Scripture as an oracle to search out the solutions to problems and reveal answers to questions. The implications of Scripture translation are powerful in the onward movement of the religious itinerary. William Mitchell studied the role of the Quechua language in the early evangelisation of Peru. His study "brings into sharp focus the translation factor as a fundamental element in the expansion of Christianity."³⁷ He states that "The option for the vernacular not only legitimates the vernacular, it becomes the womb through which the Christian faith is born into a culture. The pattern of the Incarnation, which is at the heart of Christianity, is in some sense repeated."³⁸

From the Kasena Christian story, we have seen that language and theological concepts are an integral part of answering questions and resolving problems. The language of theology must be taken seriously, because a person's spiritual journey and theology is expressed through the use of language. Thinking patterns are shaped by language. Several questions need to be considered: Does theology in the mother-tongue communicate more than in a "world" language? Do churches which use the mother tongue take more time in responding to issues than those which use English?

Where the language of the hearer is used in responding to questions and problems, it allows the speaker to enter the hearers' world and explore ideas and

concepts with the hearer. If Christian training occurs only in English, the person may not go through a theological itinerary in the mother tongue. When a Kasena completes his or her training in English or the lingua franca, is he or she able to transmit the message and theologise in Kasem? At present throughout Ghana, there is little or no use of mother tongue languages in higher theological education, let alone for a minor language such as Kasem. Where people have the New Testament in their language, they have for example, a theology of marriage. If Africa can come to terms with its multiple languages, the impact on its theology will be significant not only for the hearers of those languages, but also for the universal Church. The Church in the West has not taken language seriously. They have not entered into the language of the docks; the unemployed and the myriad of unchurched groups in their cultural world. Africa has the opportunity to redeem that situation because of its mass of languages.

(4) Implications for the hearer and communicator: a dual Christian religious itinerary

From the Kasena religious itinerary we learn that the task of exploring questions and problems and building Christian theology is not a one-sided activity. Pre-eminently, it is an activity which is under the domain of the Holy Spirit. John Taylor introduces his work on the Holy Spirit by stating,

The chief actor in the historic mission of the Christian church is the Holy Spirit. He is the director of the whole enterprise. The mission consists of the things that he is doing in the world. In a special way it consists of the light that he is focussing upon Jesus Christ.³⁹

From the perspective of the communicator, Taylor argues that there can be no mission until the eyes of the communicator "have been opened to see the living Christ"⁴⁰ and "towards other people."⁴¹ This "eye-opening" generates communication. The hearer of the gospel must also have a similar encounter. Both the hearer and communicator of the gospel message are thus involved in discovering how God's presence has been revealed in the issue, context and traditions of the hearer and how personality, experiences and social relationships are turned to Christ. For each problem or question there are a series of steps.

- a. Understanding the religious functions and meanings of traditional practices and beliefs associated with the question, problem or issue. This process incorporates knowledge of the historical and environmental context.
- b. Grappling with language which has implications for translating the message. Sanon illustrates the importance of textual analysis in this task. The texts are not isolated texts created artificially by the evangelist or theologian, but texts which occur naturally in the context of socio-cultural relationships and communication.⁴²
- c. Reflection on Scripture: hearer and communicator explore Scripture in order to apply the mind of Christ to each aspect of the problem, question or issue.

Paul Hiebert acknowledges the ministry of the Holy Spirit in the task of mission and the right of converts to read and interpret Scriptures for themselves.⁴³ However, when he discusses the initial phases of the development of theology in a new context, he places almost the entire responsibility for this on to "the missionary" including the training of leaders "who can wrestle with the theological issues that emerge within their cultural context."⁴⁴ Although Hiebert admits how vital it is for a missionary to understand and appreciate local culture and to allow the local group of believers to take responsibility for the church from the outset, the reader is left with the impression that the missionary is the one who acts, controls and "contextualizes". Why should leadership development wait until after the church has been established? Should not all Christians learn to wrestle with theological issues, because all Christians must wrestle with theological issues in daily life?

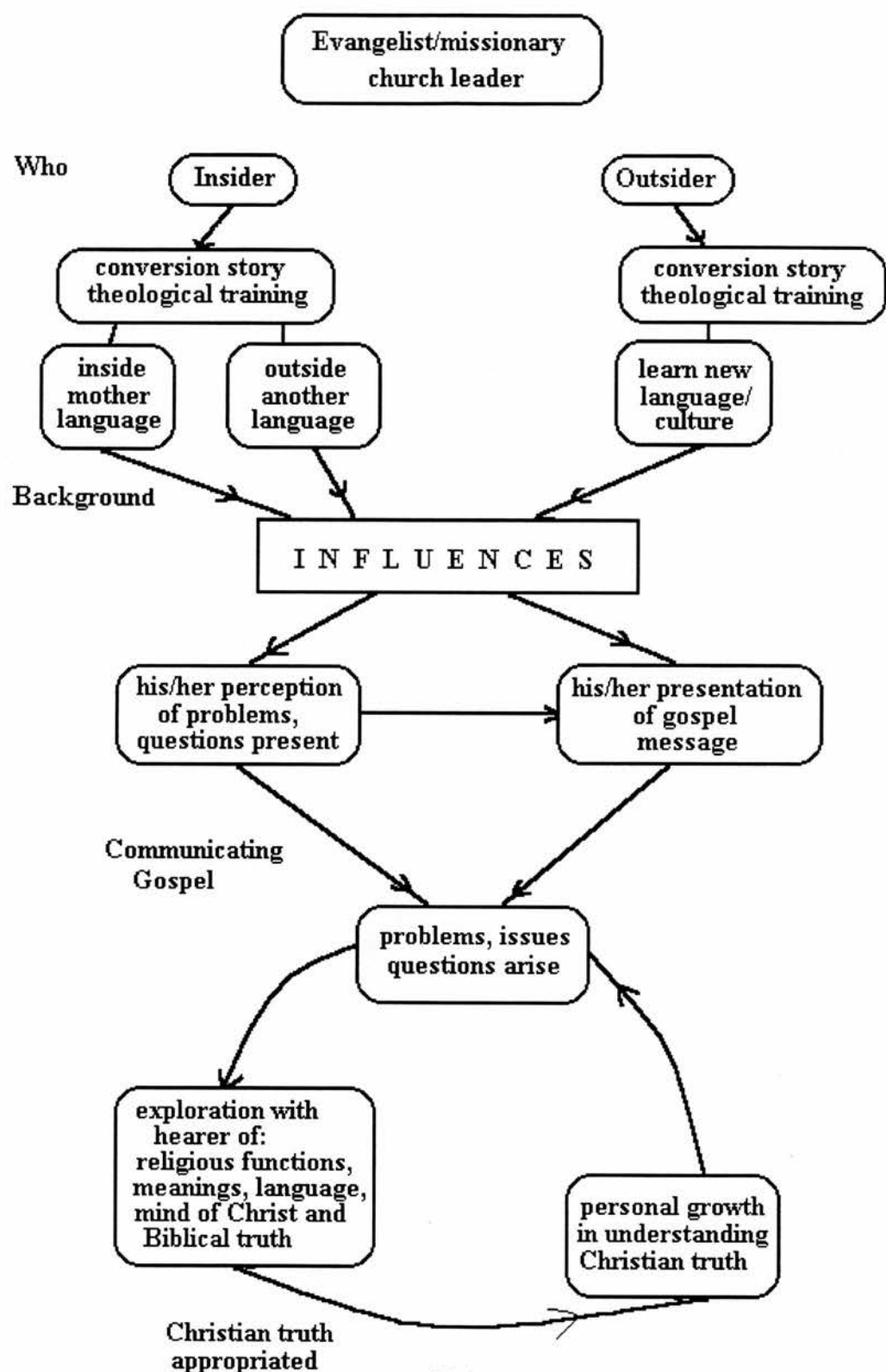
In reality, if the gospel message is to bring conversion and if there is to be ongoing appropriation of Christian truth, then it is a two-way process in which the hearer of the gospel is actively involved from the outset and is not simply a passive hearer. As a result of both hearer and communicator being involved, there is a dual itinerary as both individuals appropriate Christian truth in their spiritual journeys. The dual itinerary means that new Christians begin to explore issues and questions and appropriate Scripture from the outset. In parallel, the messenger theologically reflects as he or she explores problems, questions and issues with the hearers. The messenger

thus appropriates Christian truth by grappling with those questions or problems which had not occurred in his or her own cultural background. This also applies to the church leader/messenger who is from the same ethnic group, but has been trained outside and in a different language, and therefore, may be more conversant with the theological issues of another context. Figure 32 illustrates the Christian religious itinerary of the communicator of the gospel. Both the communicator of the message and the hearer, therefore under the direction of the Holy Spirit continually turn towards Christ the ideas, issues, questions, power relations and whatever spiritual mechanisms they use to sanction those relationships.

3. A model for the Christian religious itinerary

A number of authors have attempted to draw out general principles or classify the forms of expression when Christianity is communicated to people of primal religious faiths. John Taylor studied the growth of the Church in Buganda from the perspective of those within the Church. He described "an itinerary under missionary tutelage"⁴⁵ in which he found conversion to be a process involving four components: Congruence, Detachment, Demand, and Crisis.⁴⁶ During the early years of contact with the Christian message, there was a fitting together or "congruence" of new ideas and new community with the old Ganda structure and the existing emerging hopes. A mostly unconscious process of "detachment" simultaneously occurred through which ties to the old ways loosened, "gradually bringing them to an independence sufficient to set them free to make the choices which the gospel was demanding."⁴⁷ People identified with others in the Christian faith and Christian community-groups had an increased influence in their lives. The third component resulted from the "demands" that people felt the gospel laid upon them, such as the need to abandon "charms and fetishes",⁴⁸ the need for humility, and for unwavering obedience to the standards of the gospel. Missionary teaching also made demands which appeared to be extraneous to the gospel. The first three components worked unobtrusively and quietly, but a sudden event would precipitate a "crisis" where people either clung to their new ways or returned back to their old ways. This crisis tested the reality of their faith and

Figure 32. The Christian religious itinerary of the communicator of the Gospel



whether a genuine transfer to new beliefs had been made. In the first 15 years when crises occurred some reverted almost completely to their old allegiances, while others maintained their new faith and acted upon it, leading to growth.⁴⁹ All four components can be identified within the Kasena itinerary.

In addition, Taylor observed two separate but critically interrelated elements in the response of the Baganda. First, he argued, there is evidence of the concept of progressive revelation. He found that, in the early phases the missionaries strongly emphasised in their teaching

the sinful condition of man, the Atonement and the Saviourhood of Christ, the conversion of the individual through conscious repentance and faith, and the offer of sanctification through the Holy Spirit conditioned by the believer's will. Yet the message which was received and implanted and upon which the church in Buganda was founded, was primarily news about the transcendent God.⁵⁰

The Creator God, "Katonda" who had been remote and almost unknown to them, exploded into their auditorium and rearranged their life. Although missionaries preached of sin and Christ's salvation, the Baganda did not hear this initially. However, later they reiterated the same preaching and Taylor writes how R.H. Leakey reported in 1893 that many, "who had long been looked upon as leading Christians, realized a new force and power in their Christian life."⁵¹ What had not been heard at first, was heard later and a response made.

Taylor then argues that the Baganda experience of hearing a different message initially to the one which was preached sheds light on a second aspect: the problem of communication from one cultural system to another. The missionary "preached from within the culture of nineteenth-century Evangelical Protestantism -- or nineteenth-century Roman Catholicism -- while the Baganda heard from within the culture of the traditional African world-view."⁵² This point is highly relevant for our study. The convert hears the word of God "from within the 'auditorium' of his world, as he sees it and knows it."⁵³ What the Baganda heard initially differed from what the missionary taught, but what they heard "was the Word of God to them and it was independent of the word of the preacher."⁵⁴ They heard what was beyond the hearing

of human words for "Christ speaks in the gospel proclamation."⁵⁵ Taylor argues that if the preacher "is faithful according to the terms of 1 Corinthians 2, the Word of God will be made audible, though what is heard may not be the same as what is preached."⁵⁶ This occurs because the

Word submits both to the mouth that speaks and the ear that hears in all their temporal contingency, yet so far from being contained by them, it is the Word which contains and creates both the speaking and the hearing in a single redemptive process.⁵⁷

From Taylor's observations and the Kasena study we see that new Christians interpret what they hear in the framework of their pre-Christian beliefs and practices, but yet they are also hearing Christ. Whatever reasons initiate conversion, a process begins. As Christians continue to turn the different aspects of their life towards Christ, so new truths are understood in their Christian journey.

In contrast to Taylor, Harold Turner explored the new religious movements which arose from the interaction of pre-christian religions (especially in Africa) and western Christianity. Turner developed a typology based on religious form and content.⁵⁸ He classified four variant expressions of these movements: *neo-primal* movements, which seek to remodel their traditional religion because of Christian influence and sometimes borrow Christian symbols even while opposed to the Christian faith; *synthetist* movements, which draw from pre-Christian traditions or the new Christian form and create a new synthesis, but do not identify with either tradition; *Hebraist* movements, which radically transfer from their pre-christian belief into the world of the Bible, particularly that of the Old Testament, appearing to reject the New Testament, having little or no grasp of Jesus Christ as saviour and divine, but having a prophetic form with one moral God who acts as saviour of his people; and finally, *Independent churches* which aim to be Christian, use the Scriptures, are aware of who Jesus Christ is and know of the power of the Holy Spirit. They see themselves as "more Christian" than the missions and mission related churches. Some resemble their parent orthodox churches in most matters except, perhaps, polygamy. Some of these churches are known as "Ethiopian churches", while others are "Prophet-healing churches" with more African form and content and an emphasis on

prophecy and healing.

David Shank sets aside Turner's phenomenological typology because these were "provoked by the impact of Western Christianity".⁵⁹ Instead Shank develops a thesis on the nature of the "African Christian religious itinerary" based on reported phenomena and he draws from John Taylor's discussion of progressive revelation. Shank proposes that the "impacting pole" should be the "New Testament fulfillment of the Old Testament, rather than Western Christianity." This, he argues,

would exclude the too facile identification of Western Christianity -- in whatever national, cultural, or denominational wrappings -- with the description of New Testament life, experience, and thought whose accents and emphases are often filtered out by Western Christianity's selectivity.⁶⁰

The character of the subsequent religious itinerary, he suggests, depends on the interaction of the Christian with the Bible message and the filters, whether mission or church, through which it passes. He asserts:

There is an inevitable passage from a community canon of oral tradition and experience of spiritual powers to a new religious community with a new approach to power, conditioned by the written canon of Scripture fulfilled in the New Testament.⁶¹

Shank asks how the New Testament Faith compares with African traditional religions and if the New Testament religious faith "functions effectively as a conditioning and critiquing canon, what are the stages which it stimulates, solicits, and provokes?"⁶²

Shank establishes a "cursory description" of African traditional religions (ATR) and gives a parallel description of New Testament religious faith (NTF). He suggests that the movement between the two is a "process of gradual appropriation of Christian truth: new apprehensions, new appreciation".⁶³ Shank diagrammatically presents his schema (Figure 33) which incorporates seven stages of new apprehension. These range from conversion to an all-powerful God through to discovering the community of God's Spirit in the Church. Shank notes that the stages suggested do not always reflect the exact order of experience.⁶⁴ He also points out that at each stage Christ is experienced in a new way and a new freedom results. In addition he describes a

Figure 33.

1. AFRICAN TRADITIONAL RELIGIONS

- a. Reign of the ancestors (traditions, the elders, orality)
- b. Creator God, distant and unknown (believed in without experience)
- c. Tribe, clan, family (birth and initiation)
- d. "Life" means power, prosperity, fertility, success (maintained through harmony and equilibrium via repression, submission, compensation)
- e. Totem, taboos (fear, submission)
- f. Good spirits: divinities, genes, "living dead" (sacrifices and ritual for blessing and prosperity)
- g. Evil-doing spirits: divinities, genes, "living dead" (sacrifices and ritual for protection)
- h. Diviners, "fetishers," religious specialists (divination, possession, mediation, revelation in dreams, visions, trances)
- i. Witchcraft and magic (expose and destroy the guilty; protection through sacrifice, ritual, fetish)
- j. Festival, ritual (necessary, efficacious celebration)
- k. Reincarnation (discerned after birth)
- l. After-life: village of the dead, spiritual counterpart to here and now
- m. Present life: duty, roles, past traditions, cyclical
- n. Myth dominant; preexistent story of life and existence
- o. Shame a dominant undercurrent, in response to socio-cultural pressures

2. PROCESS OF GRADUAL APPROPRIATION OF CHRISTIAN TRUTH: NEW APPREHENSIONS, NEW APPRECIATIONS

Conversion to powerful God compared to less-powerful entities)	Struggle to abandon old sources of power and protection	Law of God and Bible and cross replace fetishes and taboos	Discovery of personal responsibility before God and fellow humans	Discovery of grace of God revealed in Christ	Discovery of life in the Spirit	Discovery of the Church as community of the Spirit and sign in the world of the coming Kingdom
Present and active	Constant threat to apostatize	God <i>requires</i> WORSHIP in sacred place	Disquiet and anguish because of sinfulness within, incapacity to avoid sin or to do good	Gifts and fruits of the Spirit	Freedom	
known through acts of power and protection for health, prosperity, fertility, success in this-life	One true God is tested over and over and over again	Religious specialist is necessary for mediation of God's power concerning law of church, discipline, forgiveness				

DEEP CONCERN FOR AFTER-LIFE DEEP CONCERN FOR NEW CREATION/MISSION IN WORLD
 DEEP APPRECIATION FOR OLD COVENANT DEEPENING APPRECIATION OF THE NEW COVENANT
 POWER SIGNS ARE VERY SIGNIFICANT MINISTRY OF THE WORD AND TEACHING VERY SIGNIFICANT
 PRAYER REPLACES SACRIFICES LIBERATION FROM LEGALISM AND FORMALISM
 (a major shift . . . with anxiety)
 SHAME DOMINANT GUILT INCREASINGLY IMPORTANT
 SPIRIT AS PUNCTUAL INTERVENTION SPIRIT AS CHRIST-PRESENCE

3. NEW TESTAMENT FAITH

- a. Kingdom of God, present and coming (Bible, Church, Holy Spirit)
- b. Redeemer God, revealed in Christ (faith/commitment to purpose; communal worship)
- c. The Church, the people of God (new birth, baptism, Lord's Supper, based on personal decision)
- d. "Life" means service, justice, peace, holiness, freedom (life in Christ, life in the Spirit via repentance, forgiveness, acceptance)
- e. Christ and his teaching, the fulfillment of God's Law (love-obedience, discipleship, participation)
- f. Angels; fellowship of the saints (thanksgiving, rejoicing)
- g. Satan vanquished, with demons and evil spirits (faith, prayer, exorcism, fellowship)
- h. The Church, a community of gifts (charisms) (fellowship, sharing, intercession, discernment of dreams, visions, trances)
- i. Providence, intervention of God, mutual aid of the congregation (forgiveness for guilty; and trust, hope, prayer, healing)
- j. Festival, ritual (voluntary celebration for edification)
- k. Resurrection (hope, expectation after death)
- l. After-life: fulfillment of God's purposes for peace, justice, unity
- m. Present life: anticipatory expression of future hope; linear
- n. History dominant: story of God's redeeming acts and promises in fulfillment
- o. Guilt a dominant undercurrent, in response to internal pressures

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Source: David Shank, "African Christian religious itinerary: toward an understanding of the religious itinerary from the faith of African traditional religion(s) to that of the New Testament", in A.F.Walls and W.R.Shenk (eds) *Exploring New Religious Movements: Essays in Honour of Harold W. Turner*, Indiana: Mission Focus, 1990, p. 154.

number of major shifts in this religious itinerary, such as: from sacrifice to prayer; from anthropocentrism to theocentric ethics; and a change in understanding and internalization of personal responsibility. He concludes by quoting the views of an African Christian, Mathieu Ekra, on the African Christian religious itinerary.⁶⁵ Ekra suggests that the "way which leads to God is his own Word."⁶⁶ He likens this "way" to a ladder, visible from anywhere except for having invisible bottom and top rungs. Ekra, quoted by Shank, suggests that

when one steps on a rung--at whatever level--and willingly hangs on, the Spirit of God Himself progressively unveils to the climber the different rungs behind and before which permit him to advance and to reach him at the Kingdom of Light and Life where He awaits us."⁶⁷

Ekra emphasizes that both the Word and the Spirit of God are the controlling factors in the onward movement of the religious itinerary. The important similarity between the two illustrations is that new response results from new illumination. The strength of Shank's model is his distinction between the gospel as reflected in Scripture and Western Christianity and his use of Scripture as the dynamic for change. In contrast to Shank, Ekra gives no description of the beginning and the ending of the process, but rather portrays both as invisible to the person. However, no matter where the person steps on to the ladder, God's process of revelation "unveils" the "rungs" behind and in front of the person. Ekra's image of the ladder implies the need for discovery of past and future for the individual involved in the process.

Shank's "cursory description" of ATR and NTF contains useful parallel generalisations, but there are some significant weaknesses in his schema. Although he may not have intended this, the model gives the impression of a person departing from one cultural context and arriving ultimately in another. Anselme Sanon contends that the Christian faith is received within the context of African traditional religion and that all the individual values including traditional institutions and the concepts are subject to the preaching of the Good News. He presents a simplified schema to illustrate the potential itinerary implied by "conversion communautaire".⁶⁸

<i>Evangelisation</i>	<i>et</i>	<i>Conversion</i>
A. Les personnes: Moeurs - Coeur		du paganisme à la foi
B. Des valeurs: Institutions, cultures		appelées à exprimer l'expérience de foi
C. Des conceptions: Vision du monde		Elaboration de la culture en fondtion (sic) de la foi

Like Sanon, the anthropologist Sherwood Lingenfelter argues in his book *Transforming Culture*, that Scripture works within a cultural context. He states

Scripture does not prescribe a particular social environment or worldview. The Spirit of God works in the lives of people in whatever social environment they find themselves. This is an essential fact if we are to understand how to apply the teaching of Scripture to the practical questions of life in various social environments of ministry.⁶⁹

Shank identifies in ATR the category, "Tribe, clan, family (birth and initiation)" and suggests a movement to, "The Church, the people of God (new birth, baptism, Lord's Supper, based on personal decision)" of NTF. This implies the tribe, clan and family have no place in NTF that an individual's focus is on the Church alone. While it is true that the gospel takes all people beyond the bounds of their family and ethnicity and Christ promised that those who left father, mother and other family members for his sake would be blessed and inherit eternal life,⁷⁰ the New Testament does not neglect to remind a person of his responsibility to his family.⁷¹ As A.F. Walls points out, "every Christian has dual nationality."⁷² The relationships within which he was brought up are "sanctified by Christ who is living in them." But the Christian also becomes a member of "the family of faith" with a new set of relationships and a full "adoptive past."⁷³ Christian truth is appropriated in both sets of relationships. Lingenfelter clarifies the action of God's Spirit and Scripture when he adds that the "theme of Scripture is not the restructuring of social environments into some ideal kingdom type, but rather the application of 'words of life' or kingdom principles to ordinary working relationships."⁷⁴ In the case of the family, clan or tribe, the Holy Spirit and the Word act to give new dimensions to those relationships as well as bringing the person into a new family, the Church.

Another weakness of Shank's schema is that what may be considered a

characteristic of ATR or, for that matter, NTF, may in fact reflect a particular anthropological analysis of a situation or only a partial outworking of Scriptural principles. For example, Shank argues that ATR has shame as "a dominant undercurrent, in response to socio-cultural pressures" and that, through interaction with the canon of Scripture, guilt increases in importance with the result that it becomes "a dominant undercurrent, in response to internal pressures" in NTF.

When Ruth Benedict analysed Japanese cultural patterns, she depicted a society strongly oriented towards shame with little guilt manifested.⁷⁵ Although this has been contested by other anthropologists,⁷⁶ Benedict's differentiation of shame and guilt models became dominant and led to an often unthinking application of the Japanese model to other societies, with many western societies depicted as "guilt-oriented" in contrast to the "shame-oriented" non-Western cultures. John Pobee argues that it is a "demonstrably wrong" impression to depict Akan society as "a 'shame' culture rather than a 'guilt' culture [just] because respect for public opinion seems to be the moral force."⁷⁷ Pobee argues that it is untrue to say that "the summum bonum of African society is the enjoyment of time and public esteem rather than a quiet conscience."⁷⁸ Rather conscience can torment a person who commits evil after it has warned against a particular action. He concludes "there is no basis for classifying Akan culture as a shame culture."⁷⁹

Psychologists, anthropologists and historians who associated shame with the violation of social norms in contrast to guilt as a more deeply personal reaction, are now being challenged.⁸⁰ Jacob Loewen observes the presence of guilt and shame in "face-to-face" societies which depend on "gossip-triggered shame sanction to enforce obedience to socially accepted norms."⁸¹ Loewen argues that adults "experience independent guilt" especially when people face adverse circumstances after breaking taboos which they perceive are supernaturally enforced. Donald Capps attempts to re-describe American culture as one characterized by deeply personal struggles with shame (not guilt), resulting from narcissism. Capps notes that "Christian theology has well-developed theologies of guilt"⁸² but little has been developed on shame.

Lowell Noble attempted to address the imbalanced emphasis on guilt in Christian theology. He argues that the link between sin-shame-reconciliation is as biblical as that between sin-guilt-justification.⁸³ He notes that:

Shame demands transformation for a solution. Being cannot be forgiven; it can only be changed. Terms like repentance, which demands a basic change in attitude, and reconciliation, which insists on a basic change in the pattern of personal relationships, are deeper than terms like justification, which refers to what we have done in the sense that we are no longer guilty before God. All are involved in becoming a Christian, but what is needed is a change in emphasis to avoid expressing the gospel of grace in legalistic terms, or at least leaving this impression with the hearers.⁸⁴

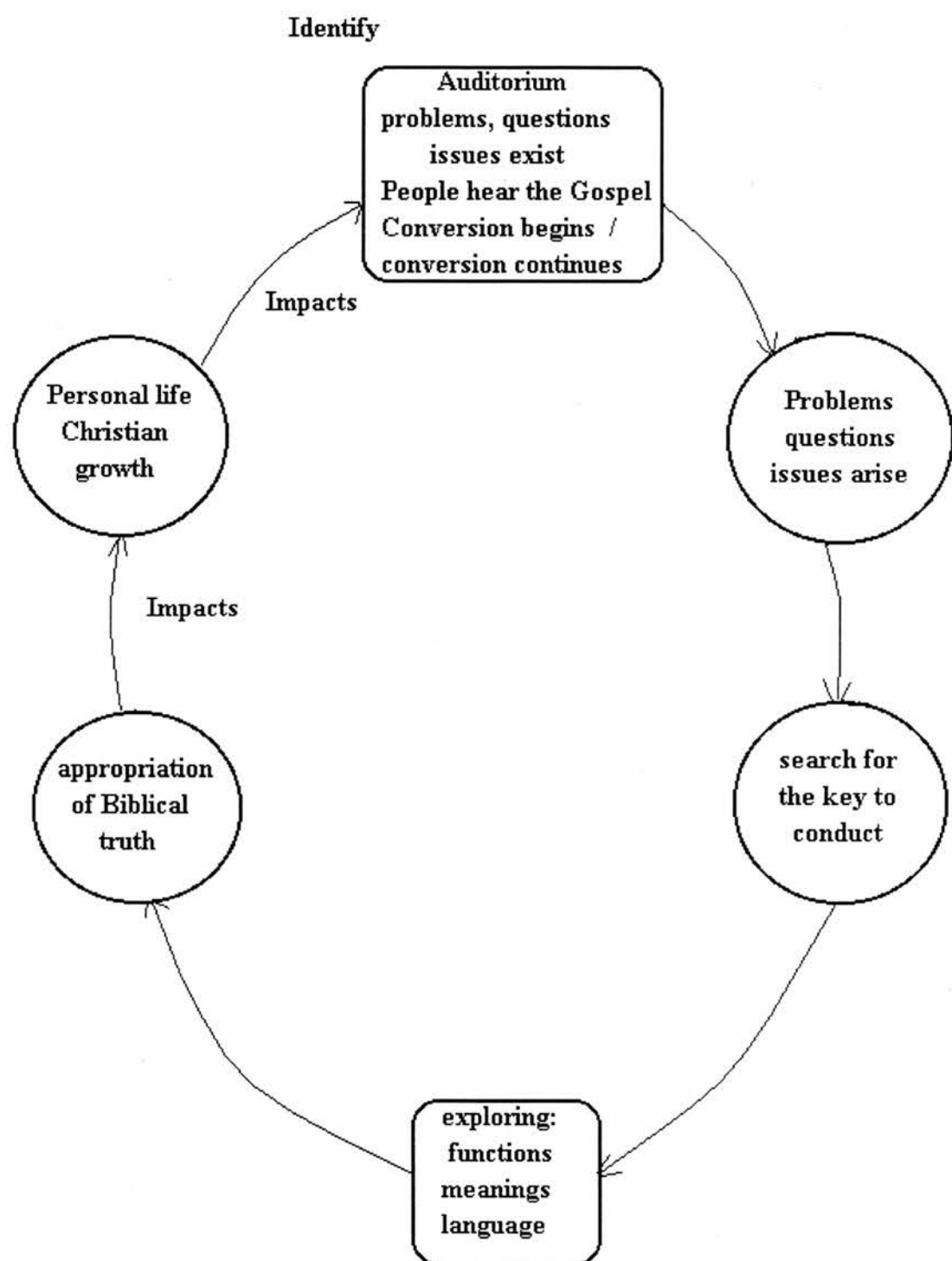
Donald Capps' overall objective in his book is to re-define sin in Christian theology as part of a shame, rather than guilt framework (as the divided, defensive and depleted self).⁸⁵ To polarize Scripture content and say that the Christian message is guilt oriented rather than shame oriented is an injustice to Scripture. Both guilt and shame are addressed theologically. Furthermore, a society in which shame appears more overtly stressed as in many African societies, is also oriented to reconciliation and this is a critical biblical theme. This discussion on shame/guilt illustrates the need for an openminded re-consideration of what constitutes the beginning of the Christian religious itinerary and the process which subsequently occurs.

The strength of Shank's model lies in the notion of continuously using the canon of Scripture and not Western Christianity as the "impacting pole" with African traditional religions. The seven stages Shank illustrates are the outcome of the appropriated Christian truth, but these are not the only truths to be discovered. Furthermore, how does a Christian take possession of these truths or any other Christian truth? From our analysis of the Kasena story we know that these truths are not appropriated simply by the communicator of the gospel systematically teaching subject matter related to each stage. Rather, the creative work of the Holy Spirit lies at the heart of the entire itinerary.⁸⁶ The Holy Spirit prompts and moves both the hearer and communicator of the gospel in a dual process of exploration, reflection and response.

There emerges from the Kasena Christian story a possible pattern of the process involved in the Christian religious itinerary which is relevant for understanding what happens when conversion takes place in other places and eras (Figure 34). The point of entry into this process is the auditorium of the hearer. The communicator enters or lives in the auditorium and therefore it is critical to discover the nature of the auditorium in which people live and hear the message. What we learn is broader than a list of characteristics of the traditional religious faith for it incorporates learning about the past heritage, socio-cultural relationships and identifying problems, questions and issues already evident. This enables one to identify the major cultural issues. The discovery of language is a critical part of the process as this affects ongoing communication of the gospel message and ultimately the development of theology. In the African context the elements of the religious faith will probably resemble many of the items in Shank's summary of ATR.

As communication of the gospel occurs within the auditorium so people who hear the message begin to raise questions and they face new problems not encountered before. Hearers search for the "key to conduct". Both hearer and communicator then cooperatively explore the meanings, functions and language associated with each issue, question or problem. As the hearers and communicators turn these issues towards Christ through reflection on Scripture, so Christian truth is appropriated. We saw in Chapter seven some aspects of Christian truth appropriated in the lives of individual Kasena: God's power; Jesus as healer; the significance of the name and blood of Jesus; and the grace of God. This approach to Scripture does not mean that the hearer or communicator only approaches Scripture in a "topical" or thematic way. When a person gives exegesis of a passage or teaches from a book of Scripture, or a hearer reads a passage, the subject matter is practically applied in a meaningful manner. Appropriating Christian truth not only impacts the personal life of the hearer and the communicator, but it subsequently affects the auditorium in which the hearer lives. Christ, through Scripture and the Holy Spirit, reaches into the personality, relationships and attitudes of people to God, others and their environment. As new problems, questions and issues arise so a new cycle begins. These matters again provide

Figure 34. The processes involved in the Christian religious itinerary



opportunity for Christian truth to be appropriated. Thus the Holy Spirit

urges every creature again and again to take one more tiny step in the direction of higher consciousness and personhood; again and again he creates for every creature the occasion for spontaneity and the necessity for choice, and at every turn he opposes self-interest with a contrary principle of sacrifice, of existence for the other.⁸⁷

4. Relating the Kasena experience to the conversion of European peoples

The Kasena Christian story is no isolated occurrence cut off from the remainder of Christian history, although the details are unique to their situation. John Peel suggests that "there are frequent parallels between aspects of contemporary African religion and other historical situations ...".⁸⁸ It is these parallels which "make Africa of potentially very great value in the reinterpretation of other or earlier Christian epochs."⁸⁹ A number of scholars have discussed the parallels between twentieth century missionary situations and the first three centuries. Campbell Moody wrote of the similarities between early Gentile converts and early twentieth century Chinese converts.⁹⁰ John Foster described the missionaries of the first three centuries and used experiences of Indian Christianity in the first half of the twentieth century to help interpret the nature of the early missionary preaching.⁹¹ In his study on *Theology and Identity*, Kwame Bediako examines the impact of culture upon Christian thought in the second century and in modern Africa. He establishes parallels between the two contexts and shows the importance of the correlation, especially for correctly interpreting modern African theology.

Both the context of the Kasena pre-Christian beliefs and components of the spiritual itinerary bear some similarity to the pre-Christian beliefs of northern Europe and the unfolding story which took place there after the introduction of the Gospel. What can be learned from the Kasena experience which helps us to re-interpret the early European experience and vice versa? What are the challenges from the European experience to guide the Kasena future?

Gregory of Tours provides some insight into the 6th century story of the Franks, the problems they faced and the persistence of pre-Christian beliefs after the conversion process began.⁹² Bede's classic work gives an overview of the entry of the gospel into Anglo-Saxon society,⁹³ and Saint Boniface, a missionary from the English church who took the gospel to the Germans illustrates in his correspondence some of the questions and problems he struggled to provide answers for.⁹⁴

(1) Historical and environmental context of the Franks, Angles and Saxons

At the time the Franks, Angles and Saxons began to hear the gospel of Jesus Christ in the 6th century, they experienced great disruption. Groups of often mutually antipathetic people fought, disputed and constantly raided one another causing unsettled community life.⁹⁵ The Franks were "savage tribesmen" who ravaged the countryside, bringing quick death through the use of arrows "smeared with poisons".⁹⁶ People captured in these raids became slaves.⁹⁷

Both the Franks and the English faced harsh environmental problems which included: locust plagues,⁹⁸ floods, earthquake, and unseasonally harsh weather.⁹⁹ When Bishop Wilfred first went to the South Saxons, he found people suffering so extensively from drought and famine that they committed suicide.¹⁰⁰ Sickness and epidemics plagued the Franks and English.¹⁰¹ King Chilperic subjected the Franks to heavy and punitive taxation which led to migration and political conflict.¹⁰² As a result of all these difficulties people struggled with hunger and poverty and consequently poor people constantly begged from church leaders.¹⁰³

(2) Pre-Christian beliefs

Gregory tells us only that the Franks "followed idolatrous practices [making 'idols'], for they did not recognize the true God."¹⁰⁴ People practised necromancy, witchcraft and magic, which often resulted in death.¹⁰⁵ Jealousy led to murder sometimes through the use of poison.¹⁰⁶ People consulted women "with the power of

prophecy"¹⁰⁷ and fortune tellers.¹⁰⁸

When the Anglo-Saxons invaded Britain, they built hill sanctuaries and venerated their divinities, Woden and Thor. Although knowledge of the Anglo-Saxon pre-Christian beliefs is limited, Henry Mayr-Harting argues that the purpose of their beliefs "was to make supernatural provision for the whole gamut of social needs."¹⁰⁹ The supernatural acted in everyday life. People associated a number of deities with agriculture and Woden with war. Thor, the god of funerals, also had protective powers for their houses through a pillar, and powers related to forests, storms, winds and fires. The Angles and Saxons sacrificed to these divinities.¹¹⁰ They also held "a belief in an after-life of the grave" and buried tools and weapons with the dead.

(3) Conversion stories

The reasons for conversion varied. Most conversions appeared not to be the result of individual decision, but occurred after a deep struggle, the assessment of spiritual powers and consultation with others in the community. In the few details Gregory relates of the Frankish "conversion" stories, some conversions occurred after healing took place or as a result of a Christian continually communicating that their "statues were useless" and people should worship "God Almighty".¹¹¹ In the case of King Clovis, his wife Clothild, was a Christian, and he permitted his first child to be baptised after the birth. However, the child died shortly after the baptism, and Clovis blamed the baptism for causing the death. He argued that the child would have lived if "he had been dedicated in the name of my gods."¹¹² Their second child also became ill after baptism. This time however, Clothild "prayed to the Lord and at His command the baby recovered."¹¹³ Clovis remained unconvinced about the merits of the Christian faith until finally, in the despair of being defeated in war, he "raised his eyes to heaven"¹¹⁴ and prayed asking God to give him victory and admitting his own divinities had no intention of helping him. He was victorious, but when he returned home, he still would not believe "in the true God" and "forsake his idols"¹¹⁵ until he met his people and discussed it with them. Otherwise they would "not agree to

forsake their gods". As a community they agreed to worship God and give up the worship of their "mortal gods".¹¹⁶

In the Anglo-Saxon story, although King Ethelbert of Kent allowed Augustine to preach to his people, he initially told Augustine he could not accept the teaching and "abandon age-old belief that I have held together with the whole English nation."¹¹⁷ The King's conversion came as a result of his observation of the "pure lives of the holy men", the truth they taught and the confirmation of this truth through miracles.¹¹⁸ King Edwin of Northumbria made his decision "to accept the religion of Christ", only when "his advisors decided that it appeared more holy and acceptable to God than their own."¹¹⁹ When he met in counsel with his "wise men",¹²⁰ the "Chief Priest", Coifi, voted for Christianity on the basis of the powerlessness of his own divinities. After the group reached consensus, Coifi was the first to volunteer "that the temples and altars that we have dedicated to no advantage be immediately desecrated and burned."¹²¹ He defiled the altars and shrine of the "gods" by casting a spear into it and telling his companions to set fire to it.

(4) The religious itinerary: acceptance and rejection.

The conversion process of the Franks and Anglo-Saxons did not occur quickly, and within their Christian stories we observe conversions and relapses. Gregory tells how initially the Franks rejected their old beliefs, but the following generation violently returned to the former beliefs.

After the missionary preaching of the bishops, the earlier generations were converted from their pagan temples and turned towards the churches; now they are busy plundering those same churches ... Their forefathers endowed the monasteries and churches; the sons tear them to pieces and demolish them."¹²²

People also "strayed from the faith" because of money.¹²³

Among the Anglo-Saxons, over a period of 90 years, in nearly every court there was a "relapse into paganism before being reconverted."¹²⁴ Some abandoned the

Christian faith when confronted with sickness.¹²⁵ On one occasion when plague broke out, Bede reported that "some had even abandoned the Christian sacraments and had recourse to the delusive remedies of idolatry, as though they could expect to halt a plague ordained of God by spells, amulets, and other devilish secret arts."¹²⁶ As with the Franks, the children of the Christian kings "were quick to profess idolatry, which they had pretended to abandon during the lifetime of their father, and encouraged their people to return to the old gods."¹²⁷

(5) The problems, questions and issues encountered.

In the course of Christian journeys, problems and questions surfaced. The Franks faced marriage related problems: people eloped (even from nunneries), others committed adultery or practised polygamy.¹²⁸ Family disputes resulted in brothers cursing each other¹²⁹ and people murdering others.¹³⁰ Assassination, fratricidal struggles, and tyranny monopolised some Christians' lives.¹³¹ Widespread stealing occurred in society and caused many disputes.¹³² People swore oaths for many reasons,¹³³ but as Christians they re-interpreted to whom they should swear the oath and so would swear "on the tomb of Saint Denis, the martyr"¹³⁴ to prove their innocence. People persecuted Christians for their faith.¹³⁵ The church also faced problems of bribery and drunkenness amongst the clergy.¹³⁶ Gregory wrote that church deacons "were no sooner raised to the episcopate than their power went to their heads ... they began to disgrace themselves in peculation, physical assaults, murders, adultery and every crime in the calendar."¹³⁷

After the English began accepting "the Faith of Christ", Augustine wrote to Pope Gregory and told him of this, but more significantly sought his advice "on certain current problems."¹³⁸ Margaret Deanesly claims that when Augustine arrived in Britain, "he knew nothing of Anglo-Saxon society, except as it resembled that of the Franks ... but he knew a good deal about bishops, clergy and monks."¹³⁹ Augustine was confronted not only with different burial customs, but with a range of beliefs and practices which his preparation in prayer, obedience, Roman law and the

organisation and management of a monastery had little prepared him to face.¹⁴⁰ He referred matters about which he was uncertain to his superiors. However, Pope Gregory had little understanding of the Angles and Saxons socio-cultural interaction, the limited power of the Kings in contrast to the Roman emperors and Gothic Kings, or the Anglo-Saxon opposition to Christianity.¹⁴¹

The questions Augustine sent to Pope Gregory concentrated predominantly on the ecclesiastical organisation of the church and church discipline for those who stole church property.¹⁴² He desired to establish the Christian church whose structure would resemble the church in Italy. Pope Gregory's response to the question on punishment for theft from a church is "theologically" correct, but he did not understand the intricacies of Anglo-Saxon law. Theft was punished "according to the gravity of the offence, and the status of the person injured."¹⁴³ However, Augustine and his churches had no recognised status in Anglo-Saxon society. Eventually, the King and not the Pope resolved the issue by creating a new law for an entity (the Church) which had not existed in traditional Anglo-Saxon society.

Augustine also included the seemingly insignificant and bothersome questions the "uncouth English people"¹⁴⁴ required guidance on: marriage regulations - who a person could marry; the baptism of expectant mothers; the timing of a husband having sexual relations with his wife after childbirth; regulations for a menstruating woman and whether she could enter a church; whether a man could enter a church or receive communion after having sexual relations with his wife; and whether a man could receive communion after dreams containing sexual allusions.

A.F.Walls suggests that the English "pre-Christian rituals were hedged by regulations concerning such things."¹⁴⁵ He adds "If the gods who underwrote the sanctions on such prohibitions were being abandoned, it was necessary to know what the new God demanded in such matters."¹⁴⁶ Therefore, these questions Augustine asked Gregory are not "paltry questions", nor did he have an "unimaginative" mind as some portray.¹⁴⁷ John Foster accuses Augustine of not knowing his Church's

rulings about sex. However, Augustine faced a set of problems he had not been taught to address in his theological training because the issues he faced in Britain differed in detail from those of Roman society. If Augustine had lacked knowledge as Foster suggests, then why did Boniface, the Anglo-Saxon missionary to the Germans, also request Archbishop Nothelm of Canterbury send him a copy of the questions Augustine sent to Pope Gregory I and also his answers to Augustine?¹⁴⁸ Augustine was not taught to explore the questions and problems of another society because people assumed the Angles and Saxons were the same as the Romans.

Augustine and the early missionaries grappled with other problems and issues. As well as intergroup warfare, family feuds often ended in murder,¹⁴⁹ and people were poisoned.¹⁵⁰ Bede wrote about matrimonial irregularities amongst Christians,¹⁵¹ people entering churches and monasteries for "unworthy" and improper reasons,¹⁵² and Bishops counteracting doctrinal problems among the followers.¹⁵³ Dreams and their interpretation were significant.¹⁵⁴

The questions and problems have strong parallels with those Boniface struggled with among the German people. Boniface was born around 675, but he entered an English monastery as a young boy and so was raised in the context of the Latin Church.¹⁵⁵ As a result, in his missionary endeavours, "conversion meant for him only a first step toward the organization and concentration of all Germanic Christendom under the leadership of Rome."¹⁵⁶

In letters Boniface constantly referred questions and problems to the Pope in Rome or the Church leadership in England.¹⁵⁷ His topics covered marriage regulations; the degrees of kin relationship permitted between married persons; what a man was to do if he could not sleep with his wife because of a disease; whether children offered to God by their parents were allowed to be married; whether a person could eat sacrificial food if they made the sign of the cross above it; whether offerings for the dead were permitted; what to do if unqualified priests baptised people and what to do about those baptised by "pagans"; what to do if uncertain as to whether

young children taken from their parents are baptised; whether lepers should take communion; whether healthy monks could leave a monastery if others were attacked by plague; what to do about unlawful behaviour of priests and bishops or if people accused a priest or cleric of wrongdoing; the German habit of eating horses; whether a person who murdered family members could receive communion; and "the selling of slaves for heathen sacrifice."¹⁵⁸ Ten years after his initial enquiries, he expressed concern again about the wretched behaviour of some deacons - including polygamy and adultery. He also sought advice on ecclesiastical matters; activities which the Church barred in Germany, yet which the "ignorant common people" heard were practised in Rome and thought the priests there permitted, such as celebrating the New Year in "pagan fashion" and women wearing amulets and bracelets.¹⁵⁹

(6) Reacting to problems, questions and issues: the ongoing itinerary.

In the initial phase of the Franks' Christian story, their problems almost submerge any evidence of their lives and activities being re-oriented to God. But subtle changes occurred. The impact of Christian teaching led to a shift in the manner of determining God's will: from the use of female soothsayers to determining God's will through placing the Psalter, the Book of Kings and the Gospels on Saint Martin's tomb, spending three days and nights in prayer and then opening one volume at a page to see what God had to say.¹⁶⁰ Pre-Christian belief in the role of the dead in human life continued although the shift was to those with Christian religious power. For example, one priest was disciplined several times because of his behaviour. Finally when sickness afflicted him, he perceived this to be caused by a Bishop who had died and was now torturing him.¹⁶¹ Dreams and visions played an important role in the religious response.¹⁶² Saints and other dead appeared in dreams. One murdered man appeared in his murderer's dream to summon the man to "face judgement".¹⁶³

In examining the violent destruction of churches and the reversion to former beliefs, we find that in the initial introduction of the Gospel, Martin of Tours destroyed "pagan temples" and overcame disbelief by miracles.¹⁶⁴ Neither the

destruction of the objects and symbols of the former faith, nor the use of miracles guaranteed the establishment of the gospel. We discover that Pope Gregory changed his instruction to Augustine from destroying "pagan temples and idols"¹⁶⁵ to destroying only the idols and not the temples. The temples were to be "asperged with holy water, altars set up in them, and relics deposited there."¹⁶⁶ Thus they were purified "from the worship of demons" and dedicated to the service of the true God. He hoped that by leaving the temples intact, people would be more ready to "come to know and adore the true God."¹⁶⁷ Gregory also suggested that rather than banning sacrifice of oxen, Augustine allow people to kill the cattle and turn it into a celebration of praise to God. Gregory reasoned this way because he claimed that it was "impossible to eradicate all errors from obstinate minds at one stroke, and whoever wishes to climb a mountain top climbs gradually step by step, and not in one leap."¹⁶⁸

The gospel had an impact on both the Anglo-Saxon worldview and their socio-cultural relationships. The gospel interrupted and brought changes and subtle shifts in thinking and ideas. Deanesly suggests that through Augustine's work, "his teaching replaced the Anglo-Saxons' Germanic paganism, their veneration of Thor the thunder god and war god, and Woden the All-Father, with the worship of Christ the Saviour and redeemer, and 'God the Creator, all-holy'."¹⁶⁹ However, this did not occur without causing disruption because of changes which occurred in peoples' lives and beliefs.

For some people the withdrawing of the "gods", meant they were left in a state of uncertainty as to how they should now react to their problems. Bede tells a story of a group of peasants watching some monks being swept out to sea during a gale after bringing wood down a river in Northumbria. The "peasants began to jeer at their [the monks'] way of life, as though they deserved such misfortune for spurning the life of an ordinary man and introducing new, unheard of rules of conduct."¹⁷⁰ When Cuthbert asked them why they were cursing the monks and suggested they pray for them, the peasants replied "Nobody is going to pray for them. Let not God raise a finger to help them! They have done away with all the old ways of worship and now nobody knows what to do."¹⁷¹ The peasants had lost their key to conduct and so did

not know how to react in daily life.

At the opposite extreme to this group of peasants, there were those people who wholeheartedly accepted the gospel message and radically changed the way they related with others both within their own socio-cultural group and with other groups. The gospel had such an impact on the East Saxon King Sigbert that he spared his enemies and forgave those who wronged him. This tore at the very heart of the pre-Christian values. Society "imposed a positive duty of revenge on all men; but in addition a thing a king could not afford to do, if he wanted to fulfil his warriors' expectations of rewards, was to forgive his enemies; it was a fatal virtue."¹⁷² Sigbert's family were not prepared to accept this radical change in his way of thinking and acting towards others. His kinsmen murdered him "because he was too lenient towards his enemies and too readily forgave injuries when offenders asked pardon."¹⁷³

Bede illustrates some of the changes which took place when the old routes of problem resolution involving the gods were abolished. Prayer played a significant part, particularly in healing and protection. People often interconnected prayer with some physical action such as setting up a cross for protection; drinking or sprinkling water mixed with splinters from the "cross" or with soil from a Saint's tomb to bring healing; examining their life, recalling sins and making a vow; being placed next to a Bishop's horse litter even after his death; and using Holy water and fasting.¹⁷⁴

Mayr-Harting argues that the Church's way of helping people cope with the official abolition of "pagan gods" and undermining their power was through miracles and the role of the Saints. Christianity had to show the gods could be abandoned

without the loss of the old benefits, that Christian medicine could work as well as pagan magic, that the earth where King Oswald had shed his blood or the chips of wood from the post against which Aidan had leaned were just as efficacious in drinking water as all the things which pagans dropped into it.¹⁷⁵

Bede tells the story of Mellitus stopping the fire in Canterbury through prayer to God.¹⁷⁶ Mayr-Harting suggests this and the other stories of the early missionaries

coping with fires illustrate the continuity of thought that occurred after conversion. Instead of Thor, the thunder divinity, having powers over fire, the missionaries now did. This "struggle between Christianity and paganism ... was the engagement of two life principles."¹⁷⁷ However, to those involved, was this merely an engagement of "life principles", or did they perceive it as a struggle between spiritual powers?

Mayr-Harting argues that the Kings assumed Christ-like character, but more significantly, "Christ Himself took on some of the qualities of the old Germanic gods, and Aethewulf's *De Abbatibus* speaks of him as 'the thunderer', as if He were the warrior Thor."¹⁷⁸ The assumption that Christ took on the qualities from the old Germanic gods needs to be more carefully assessed. Thor was the divinity of Thunder and possibly protective or curative rituals had to be performed in the event of destructive storms or lightning. Therefore belief in Christ led to a search for a re-interpretation of the problems associated with thunder and lightning. Thus it was natural for Chad to discover in Scripture that "the Lord thunders" and pray arduously if there was thunder and lightning.¹⁷⁹ What this illustrates is a shift in belief reflecting a new understanding of God's word. Therefore Christ is not simply taking on the qualities of Germanic divinities, but a Christian is applying what he believes God teaches him to his experiences and environment.

In Anglo-Saxon pre-Christian beliefs, people associated remote places with spirits. Bede tells the story of Bishop Cedd choosing a site for a monastery in a wild and remote place which was likened to a "habitation of dragons".¹⁸⁰ Cedd requested permission to remain at the site during Lent in order to pray and fast, thereby dedicating site of the future monastery to God. Mayr-Harting sees the action of cleansing the spirits from the site through the 40 day fast as a synthesis of Irish and Roman attitudes.¹⁸¹ However, Bede states "the man of God wished to first purify the site of the monastery from the taint of earlier crimes by prayer and make it acceptable to God before laying the foundations."¹⁸² Bede makes a link between the crime committed on land and the subsequent existence of evil spirits in the area. The physical evil committed exposed the territory to spiritual evil and this necessitated a

spiritual response to cleanse the land.

From Bede's material we find that the Anglo-Saxon church entered a strongly legalistic phase. Some Bishops and Priests cursed wrongdoers and excommunicated people for what they regarded as extreme wrongs such as illicit marriage.¹⁸³ The church developed a penitential system to deal with sin. These penitentials "listed large numbers of sins and suggested appropriate penances."¹⁸⁴ Archbishop Theodore who came to Canterbury from Rome in 669 made judgements, taught about appropriate penances for sins and he drew these together in a Penitential.¹⁸⁵ This practice of confession and penance became thoroughly entrenched in Anglo-Saxon Church life. Mayr-Harting observes,

one of the reasons why the Anglo-Saxons took to this form of literature was because it fitted with an important feature of their own social organization. They calculated in their laws the compensations to be paid to a man for the various personal wrongs which he might suffer, in much the same way as the penitentials calculated the lengths of penance owing to God for various sins.¹⁸⁶

Priests directed laymen and so, for example, if a person ate food sacrificed "to pagan gods" and confessed it, the priest had the power to determine the nature of penance required. Mayr Harting points out that Theodore also made provision in his Penitential for the dissolution of a marriage where one partner converted to Christianity, but the other remained a "pagan".¹⁸⁷

From this overview of the impact of Christianity among the Franks, Angles and Saxons we see a spiritual journey in which Christians interpreted their new beliefs in the light of the old ideas. The missionaries were confronted with problems and questions for which their training had not adequately prepared them. They frequently responded by using the framework of Latin society.¹⁸⁸

(7) Linkages between the Kasena and European experiences

In both the Kasena and European situation, people first heard the gospel in an insecure environment. Other groups frequently raided them and they fought their

neighbours. From the Kasena pre-Christian beliefs, we know how intricately the physical and spiritual realms are interlinked. In both contexts people rejected their divinities because they perceived them to be less powerful than the Christian God. A Kasena who struggled with sickness and with having no children all his life, exclaimed, "I sacrificed to them [*jona*] and saw nothing [neither health nor children]. So then I thought of God alone. As soon as day breaks I start to call God. Whether I get [food] to my mouth or not, it's God. It's only God, I have nothing again."

If the factors which precipitated or controlled the key to conduct were undermined, or dismissed, then people searched for a new key. The official abolition of divinities among the Angles and Saxons, left some in a state of uncertainty and without a key of conduct. It was natural therefore, for the children of some Franks and English to revert to their old beliefs. They did not experience the transforming power of Jesus Christ at the level of their ideas and beliefs of their cultural system (worldview).¹⁸⁹ Instead some witnessed the physical destruction of their former places of worship and this did not turn the heart of their cosmology towards Christ. Among the Kasena, there are those who removed shrines, not as an immediate and rash reaction after initial conversion, but because they reflected and became firmly convinced of the necessity of doing so. Otherwise the attendant power disturbed them. In the European examples, the broad parallels with Kasena problems and queries are: the prominence of marriage issues, especially polygamy and adultery; and beliefs in spiritual powers - gods, sacrifices and the eating of sacrificial food.

In the Kasena story, we have seen the impact in the recent years of mother-tongue Scriptures. The northern Europeans did not have access initially to their own Scriptures, and Christian worship was imposed in Latin. To participate in spiritual reflection they had to address their issues in the framework of a foreign language. This forced most ordinary people to depend solely on the "religious specialist" for interpretation and his reaction was influenced more by the Latin context than by the context he encountered. The particulars of their own beliefs were not responded to. Missionaries and early church leaders gave people a "key to conduct", but the church

became locked into this or Christians adapted it to their own situation and failed to turn their issues and relationships continually towards Christ. Therefore, the access to mother-tongue Scriptures is a powerful tool in the onward movement of the religious itinerary.

When Christians in Anglo-Saxon society did have access to Scripture, they attempted to search for their key to conduct within it as both Chad attempted to do with the thunder and lightning and Bishop Cedd did with his "cleansing the site". These examples are strikingly similar to present day African examples. A Nigerian missionary, Raphael Ehoniyotan, began a church in a village amongst the Gbagyi ethnic group of Nigeria. One evening lightning struck a pole next to the church. Raphael was forced to think about a reaction.

After the storm, the local priests came to say they had to offer a sacrifice to the gods in the compound because when thunder strikes in the village it means the gods are angry. If they are not appeased at that spot, more trouble will come to the village. Raphael told them to wait until he had seen the village chief. Then he went to his Bible to see what it had to say about thunder. There he found that thunder is the voice of the Lord. He reasoned that the Lord would be speaking blessing to the missionaries, so he went and explained to the chief that there was no need to sacrifice since thunder is God's voice and he had promised to bless the missionaries, and through them, the village. The chief told the priests that in this case, it was not necessary to do the sacrifices. And indeed, it was a good year for the village.¹⁹⁰

While walking to a compound, a Kasena church leader pointed to an empty, unused piece of land on which an old house had formerly stood.¹⁹¹ He related how in his childhood, a man from the house murdered two relatives and after Colonial Officials took him to Navrongo, no one ever saw him again. Although the elders of the area performed the funeral of the murdered people, no one has lived there since. The church leader then stated that if Christians wanted to build there, they would have to pray over the land. He stated "there are *chichiribia* (spirits) there and if you don't do something on the land they will ask you." Is this simply continuity of belief from the pre-Christian cultural system? Does not this leader express an awareness of spiritual powers requiring spiritual encounter?

In Chapter five we saw how Alagesam's *Wε* ordered that the land be cleansed of the blood that had fallen during the *gwala* (slave raiding). In the PQI interviews, Kasena Christians were asked what they would do if they wanted to move out of their old *sɔŋɔ*. The majority replied that they would build a new house and 108 (55%) included prayer in their answer. The replies of 53 (49%) of the 108 made statements such as: "ask the church leader to pray over the land"; "the church leader pray over the land for cleansing"; "pray for the site to be cleansed"; "fast, pray and bind the evil spirit on the land"; "pray, good work and land purification"; "pray, build, then apply Holy water and sand on the plot"; and , "church leader pray, make land dedication". What is the theological response to this?

Francis Schaeffer argues that the consequences of "the Fall" mean that a person is separated from God (spiritual division), from him or herself (psychological division), from others in society (sociological division), from nature and nature is divided from nature (ecological division). Furthermore, he reasons that on the basis of the work of Christ (the "blood of the Lamb") a way has opened for all Christians to work now for substantial healing in all the divisions, but the healing process will only be completed with the return of Christ.¹⁹² Kasena Christians perceive an "ecological division" which requires healing. So did early European Christians.

(8) Challenges for the Kasena from the European story

From the Franks, Angles and Saxons situations there are a number of challenges for the future of not only the Kasena church, but for Christians in many other contexts.

- a. The training and preparation of church leadership. The early missionaries and church leaders of northern Europe found it difficult to respond to issues, because their training did not prepare them to explore the specific questions and problems of their unfamiliar environment, nor to discover the meanings behind issues.
- b. The language used for reacting to problems, questions and issues. Will an emphasis on English and French in Africa overshadow the use of the mother-tongue languages

in attempting to grapple with theological issues, thus hindering authentic dialogue between the Gospel and African tradition?¹⁹³

- c. The failure to continually appropriate Christian truth creates a situation where Christians become pre-occupied with legalism or with only one facet of their itinerary.
- d. Abuse of position by church leaders. Both the Franks and Germans levelled serious complaints against church leaders for misusing their positions of power. One senses this occurred because a dual itinerary did not take place and Scriptural truth was not constantly appropriated within their lives.

5. Conclusion

This study has analysed the Christian religious itinerary of the Kasena and attempted to discover whether Christians perceive that Jesus Christ belongs to them and their world. An exploration of the historical, environmental and cultural background of the Kasena prior to and during their encounter with *Wε choŋa* enabled us to comprehend the factors that influenced their reception of the gospel message.

Over the past century, a Kasena Christian itinerary can be identified comprising five interconnected yet distinct phases, each phase telescoping into the next period.

1. The pre-Christian (primal) phase: open to accepting phenomena with religious significance.
2. The proclamation of *Wε choŋa*: 1906 to the 1950s.
3. The entry of Protestant Churches: 1950s to 1976
4. The emergence of new churches and the role of Kasem Scriptures: 1977 to 1985
5. Expansion of Kasena hearing about *Wε choŋa*

Within this Christian journey, one finds the stories of individual churches and more significantly of individuals who sometimes have moved across denominations.

We have discovered that Jesus Christ has been revealed in their auditorium and today there are Kasena Christians who perceive that he belongs to them and his

message is relevant to their daily life. They seek to find answers to their questions and guidance for their problems through God's Spirit and word. On the other hand, there are still many Kasena who do not think that Christ belongs to their world because there are problems and issues which Christians and the Church have not turned towards Christ. Some Kasena still seek the key to conduct. Kasena family life has been disrupted by historical, political, educational and religious factors. Their physical environment is fragile and so also is the continuity of their social structure. The purpose of the gospel is to redeem people within their context and to bring substantial healing to the spiritual, psychological, sociological and ecological divisions.

From the Kasena historical itinerary, features emerge which show us that their experience has universal applications for other societies and ethnic groups both in time and space. Initial reasons for conversion vary, but whatever the reasons, conversion is a process, a spiritual journey in which other new truths are gradually comprehended. In the process, problems and questions arise especially where pre-Christian religious beliefs of a society are intricately interwoven with the physical and practical aspects of life and influence behaviour. Christians search for the new key to conduct. The ongoing appropriation of Christian truth and theology is intertwined with discovering solutions to problems and answers to questions. It is a dual activity involving both communicator of the Christian message and the hearer. The results impact the lives of both groups and the physical and social environment.

We have learned through this itinerary, that the Kasena have not been an isolated people cut off from the influences of others. They merge into the surrounding Nankana, Bulsa and Sisala, sharing many characteristics with these groups. But in spite of this and Kasena migration, there is a distinct identity shared through language.

In 1920, A.W. Cardinall audaciously prophesied the demise of Kasem.

I record this Kassena language not with a view of anyone ever troubling to learn to speak it, since it is a tongue of very small importance, but in an endeavour to perpetuate a language which our presence must in time cause to disappear.¹⁹⁴

It has not disappeared, but the gospel of Jesus Christ has authenticated it and motivated Christians such as Kwame Apetega to learn to read and write it without having had any formal education (Figure 35). This in turn is providing a medium to express personal needs, to reflect problems and to open avenues that reach beyond the isolation of individual ethnicity.

April Kwame **1976** Apetega

29 Thursday

Amo Kwame Apetega mo popone tɔnɔ
 Koto a pa nmo. Alesn. Kaseba. Ajege Wopolo
 lanyerane se apopone tɔnɔ Koto apam. Ajege
 teena lanyerane we n jege yazura yezukrista
 yere bwaane. Ajege teena we n totoba maama
 vei lanyerane mo yezu Krista yere bwaane.
 Amo Kwame de akaane Naboo de jege yazura
 lanyerane. Wobo Kolo yerane na daane amo de
 akaane to mo teto. Amo Kwo Apetega mo tiga.
 O nam tige 26 Janori ne mo. mo Kolo na daane
 amo lanyerane.
 Kodaake amo ta Kwaamo lanyerane se a zamese
 felim kukoke mo Englih. Aloorem lanyerane se
 n ta wore we n pane se a Kwe natige. o
 daara amo yerane to. mo nsha dede bobo
 se badaane amo lanyerane Wnno dede babane.
 Aloore lanyerane n na Gage a tɔnɔ kom ye n
 na wo nige kuko se joore n popone bwei amo.
 Mo ATAA MAAMA A KE N LE
 LANYERANE AMEE.

Figure 35. Letter from Kwame Apetega. (Used with permission.¹⁹⁵)

I Kwame Apɛtega write this letter to you. Allison Kaseɲa. I am very happy to write this letter to you. I really hope that you have health because of Jesus Christ's name. I hope that your work goes very well because of Jesus Christ's name.

I Kwame and my wife Naboo are very well. The only thing which troubles me and my wife is this. My father Apɛtega died. He died on 26 January [1993]. That is what really troubles me.

In addition I am really trying to learn 'felim' meaning English. I really beg that you continue to pray for me for my father died and left only me. Many people begin to trouble me related to many things. I really beg that if you read this letter and you do not understand that you again write and ask me.

I speak all I thank you Amen.

Through the five phases of the Kasena Christian itinerary there has been a progressive change in comprehension of the gospel of Jesus Christ. It has been a story of the Kasena coming to Christ, not to Catholicism or to Protestantism whether in the form of the Church of Pentecost, Assemblies of God, Good News Church, Deeper Life Ministry, Presbyterian or any other group.¹⁹⁶ The Kasena heard about *Wɛ choɲa* and now many belong to "the Way" like the Christians of Damascus whom Saul sought to persecute (Acts 9:2). Priscilla and Aquila invited Apollos to their home in Ephesus "and explained to him the way of God [*Wɛ choɲa*] more adequately."¹⁹⁷ So too today many Kasena attempt to explain *Wɛ choɲa* more adequately to other people. James Kancha tells us that

It was because of my *nubia* (like relatives George Borla) who began to come and talk with me that I heard about Jesus. So one day I decided to go to church. When I decided to follow Jesus, I decided to take my *jona* and throw them away. Some I threw in the canal and others I took to work to throw away. That was about one and a half years ago.¹⁹⁸

NOTES

1. J.D.Y.Peel, "Conversion and Tradition in Ijebu and Buganda," *Past and Present*, 1977, 77, p.141.
2. J.Foster, *After the Apostles - Missionary Preaching of the First Three Centuries*, London, SCM Press, 1951, p.37.
3. John Foster illustrates from the writings of Tertullian of Carthage, that after conversion, crises arose within the families of converts which are very similar to some of the family difficulties Kasena Christians have faced. A father disowned his Christian son; a husband divorced his wife because of her Christian faith. (*Ibid*, p.39.)
4. Gagnon, *Moeurs et Coutumes*, p.15.
5. Kazaresam, *The Kasena of Ghana*, pp.93,94.
6. *Ibid*, p.94.
7. *Ibid*, pp.94,95.
8. *Ibid*.
9. Okorocha, *The Meaning of Religious Conversion*, p.267. Okorocha quotes Bishop Unegbu's description of 'divided loyalties' amongst Christians.
10. *Ibid*, p.270.
11. A.F.Walls, "The Gospel as the Prisoner and Liberator of Culture," *Missionalia*, 1982, 10 (3), p.100.
12. *Ibid*, p.101.
13. K.Bediako, *Theology and Identity: The Impact of Culture upon Christian Thought in the Second Century and in Modern Africa*, Oxford, Regnum Books, 1992, p.xv.
14. C.Taber "The Limits of Indigenization in Theology," *Missiology*, 1978, 4(1), p.69.
15. P.Hiebert, *Anthropological Insights for Missionaries*, Grand Rapids, Baker Book House, 1985, p.211.
16. *Ibid*, p.258.
17. *Ibid*, p.122.
18. *Ibid*, p.187.
19. Walls, *The Significance of Christianity in Africa*, p.20.

20. Sanon, Tierce Église, p.213.

21. *Ibid*, p.267.

22. *Ibid*, p.129.

23. *Ibid*, pp.152,153.

24. G.W.H.Lampe argues that because of God's role in creation and the fact that mission takes place within God's creation, it means that the Church's mission "does not bring God into any situation in which he is not already present; it is addressed to people in whom God's presence dwells, even though they may be only dimly aware of him or respond to him as an 'unknown God'." (G.Lampe, *God as Spirit* [The Bampton Lectures, 1976], Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1977, p.181) L. Sanneh also argues that "the 'good news' of Divine love and reconciliation, for example, was long diffused in the local religious traditions before the missionary came on the scene." (L.Sanneh, *West African Christianity: The Religious Impact*, Maryknoll, Orbis Books, 1983, p.247.)

25. Sanon, Tierce Église, pp.267-271.

26. His detailed explanation of this is given in *Enraciner L'Evangile* and summarised in "Jesus, Master of Initiation". (A.Sanon and R.Lumeau, *Enraciner L'Evangile*, Paris, Les Éditions du Cerf, 1982, pp.162-211; A.Sanon, "Jesus, Master of Initiation," in R.Schreiter (ed) *Faces of Jesus in Africa*, New York, Orbis Books, pp.85-102.)

27. Sanon, "Jesus, Master of Initiation," p.92.

28. *Ibid*, p.93.

29. Ephesians 1:10. New International Version.

30. Colossians 1:15,16.

31. In 1992, a Ghanaian construction firm constructed electricity pylons through Chiana and they specifically enquired whether rites had to be performed before they cut down trees.

32. Among the Anufo, the bush epitomizes chaos and fire "has been man's primary ally in the constant work of domesticating the 'wild'." Furthermore, "trees are both collectively and individually the enemies of society." (J.Kirby, *Bush Fires and the Domestication of the Wild in Northern Ghana*, Culture and Development Series No.1, Tamale Institute of Cross-Cultural Studies, 1987, pp.19,20.) Jon Kirby found only three types of tree not to be a threat to Anufo social order: introduced shade/fruit trees, the baobab and kapok and the ones which are associated with the earth shrine. On the other hand, J.Schoffeleers discusses a number of territorial cults which ritually directed the eco-system in the past. In Malawi "large tracts of forest and brushland were protected from burning by means of ritual interdictions." Limitations were also placed

on the amount of fishing from pools and cattle grazing was restricted to certain areas. However, in the second half of the 19th century large areas of forest were destroyed because of the collapse of territorial cults. (J.Schoffeleers, *Guardians of the Land*, Gwelo Zimbabwe, Mambo Press, 1978, pp.3,4.)

33. L.White, Jr. "The Historical Roots of Our Ecologic Crisis," reprinted in Francis Schaeffer and U.Middlemann, *Pollution and the Death of Man*, Wheaton, Illinois, Crossway Books, 1992 edition, p.140.

34. Schaeffer, *Pollution and the Death of Man*, p.59.

35. Genesis 9:8-17.

36. Schaeffer, *Pollution and the Death of Man*, pp.61,62 and 69.

37. W.Mitchell, The Appropriation of the Quechua Language by the Church and the Christianisation of Peru in the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries, University of Edinburgh, Ph.D, 1991, pp, 430,431.

38. *Ibid*, p.432.

39. J.Taylor, *The Go-Between God: the Holy Spirit and the Christian Mission*, London, SCM Press Ltd, 1972, p.3.

40. *Ibid*, p.20.

41. *Ibid*, p.21.

42. Sanon, Tierce Église, pp.172-188.

43. Hiebert, *Anthropological Insights*, pp. 18,19.

44. Hiebert, *Anthropological Insights*, p.215. Hiebert argues that the missionary is the one who makes the Gospel known through witness and modelling the Christian life; initiates contextualizing the biblical message in the local culture for which understanding and appreciation of local culture are vital; explains the meaning of Scriptures; guides them in the questions they face; teaches people how to study Scriptures; and should encourage, support and train leaders after a church has been planted.

45. Shank, "African Christian religious itinerary," p.149.

46. J.V.Taylor, *The Growth of the Church in Buganda: An Attempt at Understanding*, London, SCM Press, 1958, pp.43-49.

47. *Ibid*, p.44.

48. *Ibid*, p.45.

49. *Ibid*, pp.49-59.

50. *Ibid*, p.252.

51. *Ibid*, p.253.

52. *Ibid*. On a number of occasions Campbell Moody observed that the message missionaries taught differed from that the receivers heard. Missionaries preached salvation "by faith alone" whereas the Chinese converts of the early twentieth century heard salvation "by faith and good conduct." (C.N.Moody, *The Mind of the Early Converts*, London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1920, p.21.) He commented that the "modern missionary is often astounded at the contrast between the Christianity of the person who imparts and the Christianity of the person who receives the Gospel." (*Ibid*, p.39.) In contrast to Taylor, Moody blamed those who heard the message: "The cardinal failure was in the first *hearers* of the Gospel." (*Ibid*, p.40.) However, it is not a matter of placing blame, but rather of understanding the differences between the communicator of the gospel and the hearer.

53. Taylor, *The Growth of the Church in Buganda*, p.253.

54. *Ibid*.

55. J.Murray, *The Epistle to Romans*, The New International Commentary on the New Testament, Vol. 2, Chapters IX-XVI, Grand Rapids, Wm.B.Eerdmans Pub. Co., p.58. This is the comment John Murray makes on Romans 10:14 "how shall they believe him whom they have not heard?"

56. Taylor, *The Growth of the Church in Buganda*, p.253.

57. *Ibid*, p.254.

58. H.Turner, "A Further Frontier for Missions: A General Introduction to New Religious Movements in Primal Societies," *Missionalia*, 1983, 11, p.107.

59. Shank, "African Christian religious itinerary," p.150. Janet Hodgson also found that while Turner's typology is useful for "systematic study of the religious dimensions of the African data, many and varied manifestations of religious development do not fit such a classification." (J.Hodgson, "'Don't fence me in': some problems in the classification of African religious movements," in A.F.Walls and W.R.Shenk, *Exploring New Religious Movements*, Indiana, Mission Focus, 1990, pp 83-94.) She built on Turner's foundation by incorporating wider manifestations of religious life. Her focus is on symbol rather than structure to show how people constantly search to integrate "symbol with experience and experience with symbol ..." (*Ibid*, p.90.)

60. Shank, "African Christian religious itinerary," p.150.

61. *Ibid*, p.144.

62. *Ibid*, p.150.
63. *Ibid*, p.154.
64. *Ibid*, p.156.
65. Shank acknowledges his schema is a description from the perspective of a Westerner.
66. *Ibid*.
67. *Ibid*, pp.156,157, quoted from M.Ekra, *L'échelle sans fin*. Abidjan, NEA, 1977, p.16.
68. Sanon, Tierce Église, p.261.
69. S.Lingenfelter, *Transforming Culture: A Challenge for Christian Mission*, Grand Rapids, Baker Book House, 1992, p.77,78.
70. Matthew 19:29.
71. St.Paul exhorts Timothy to instruct people to care for their relatives otherwise they are worse than unbelievers and have denied the faith (1 Timothy 5:7,8).
72. A.F.Walls, "The Gospel as the Prisoner and Liberator of Culture," *Missionalia*, 1982, 10(3), p.99.
73. *Ibid*.
74. Lingenfelter, *Transforming Culture*, p.77.
75. R.Benedict, *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword: Patterns of Japanese Culture*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, The Riverside Press, 1946, pp.222-227.
76. R.P.Dore, indicated that in Japan, moral sanctions could not "be easily and satisfactorily dealt with in term of any simple shame-guilt dichotomy." (R.Dore, *City Life in Japan: A Study of a Tokyo Ward*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1958, p.382.)
77. J.Pobee, *Toward an African Theology*, Nashville, Adingdon, 1979, p.91.
78. *Ibid*, p.103.
79. *Ibid*. We have already referred in Chapter 7 to Abraham Berinyuu's work on divination in which he clearly indicates that people experience guilt when they have broken rules (Berinyuu, *Towards Theory and Practice*, p.48).

80. D.Capps, *The Depleted Self; Sin in a Narcissistic Age*, Minneapolis, Fortress Press, 1993, pp.72,73. Capps refers to a study of early Puritan child-rearing practices in New England which revealed that shame was the core experience and guilt was secondary. (Capps cites John Demos, *A Little Commonwealth: Family Life in Plymouth Colony*, New York, Oxford University Press, pp.138,139.) A number of anthropologists, including Benedict, have argued that American culture has been shifting from a guilt sanctioned culture to a shame sanctioned one. (Benedict, *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword*, p.223, and J. Loewen, *Culture and Human Values: Christian Intervention in Anthropological Perspective*, Pasadena, William Carey Library, 1975, p.315.)
81. Loewen, *Culture and Human Values*, p.315.
82. Capps, *The Depleted Self*, p.35.
83. L.Noble, *Naked and Not Ashamed*, Michigan, Jackson Printing, 1975, pp.viii, 67-69, 80.
84. *Ibid*, p.83.
85. Capps, *The Depleted Self*, pp.84-100, especially pp.86,87. Nelson Ould, a Ph.D. candidate at Edinburgh University is also re-examining pastoral and theological perspectives on shame.
86. David Shank also acknowledges the work of the Holy Spirit as an ongoing part of the itinerary. (Shank, "African Christian religious itinerary," p.155.)
87. Taylor, *The Go-Between God*, p.36.
88. J.Peel, "The Christianization of African society: some possible models," in E. Fasholé-Luke (*et al.*), *Christianity in Independent Africa*, London, Rex Collings, 1978, p.444.
89. *Ibid*, p.444.
90. Moody, *The Mind of the Early Converts*.
91. J. Foster, *After the Apostles*.
92. Gregory of Tours, *History of the Franks (HF)*, London, Penguin, 1974, translated by Lewis Thorpe.
93. Bede, *A History of the English Church and People, (EH)* London, Penguin, 1968 edition, translated by Leo Sherley-Price, pp.21.22.
94. *The Letters of Saint Boniface*, translated with an introduction by E.Emerton, New York, W.W.Norton and Co., 1976 edition.
95. *EH*, Introduction, pp.21.22.

96. *HF*, II.9.

97. *HF*, III.2, VI.31. Bede also tells the story of Pope Gregory seeing boys from Britain sold as slaves in Rome (*EH*, II.1). Even at the time Bishop Aidan of Iona went to evangelise the English, he ransomed people unjustly sold as slaves (*EH*, III.5).

98. *HF*, IV.20, VI.33,44.

99. *HF*, II.20, III.37, IV.16,31, V.33,44, VI.14, 25, VIII.23, IX.4,43, X.1.

100. *EH*, IV.3.

101. *HF*, II.18, IV.5,31, V.17,33, VI.14,33, VII.2, IX.21, X.1, *EH*, III.27,30, IV.8,9,14,23,27.

102. *HF*, V.28. When sickness and death attacked the king who imposed these taxes and his family, they determined that God sent this as punishment for their sin to paupers, orphans and widows (*HF*,V.34).

103. *HF*, II.24, III.18,34, VII.45. *EH*, III.5,14

104. *HF*, II.10.

105. *HF*, IV.29, V.38, VI.35, IX.4,6,37.

106. *HF*, IV.25,36, VIII.31.

107. *HF*, V.14, One woman with the gift of prophecy was even able to tell a victim of robbery, who the thief was, where to find him and what he had done with the stolen goods (*HF*, VII.44.)

108. *HF*, IX.10.

109. H.Mayr-Harting, *The Coming of Christianity to Anglo-Saxon England*, London, B.T.Batsford, 1972, p.29.

110. *Ibid*, pp.25-27.

111. *HF*, VI.6 and VIII.15.

112. *Ibid*.

113. *HF*, II.29.

114. *HF*, II.30.

115. *HF*, II.31.

116. *Ibid*.

117. *EH*, I.25.

118. *EH*, I.26.

119. *EH*, II.9.

120. *EH*, II.13.

121. *EH*, II.13.

122. *HF*, IV.48.

123. *HF*, II.3.

124. Mayr-Harting, *The Coming of Christianity*, p.29. Redwald, King of East Angles received Christian baptism in Kent, but when he returned home, his wife persuaded him to "apostatize". (*EH*, II.15.) He tried to follow the old and the new. He had a temple within which was an altar for the "holy Scripture of Christ" and another altar for sacrifice to the divinities. King Edwin later persuaded Redwald's son, to accept Christianity. However, when he was killed, the people lapsed into "heathendom", until Sigbert, a devout man of God, took over.

125. *EH*, III.30.

126. *EH*, IV.27.

127. *EH*, II.5.

128. *HF*, III.5,27, IV.3,9,25-28, V.32, VI.13,16, IX.33. Even the image the British administrators and missionaries presented of Kasena women pales into insignificance when compared with the lusty barbarism of some Frankish women.

129. *HF*, VI.27.

130. *HF*, III.18,26,31, IV.4, V.48,49, VI.3,4,12,19, IX.34.

131. *HF*, I.41, II.2,6,9,19,27,36,37,42, III.6,7,11,28, IV.10,17,20.

132. *HF*, V.1. People even stole liberally from churches (*HF*, VI.10,12, VII.46, VIII.6, 26,32,40.)

133. *HF*, II.42, IV.23, V.3,48, VIII,22,40.

134. *HF*, V.32. VIII.16.

135. *HF*, II.2,25-27, III.10.

136. *HF*, IV.11,12, V.,18,40, VIII.34.

137. *HF*, V.20. See also VI.36, VIII.19,39. There were disputes and accusations of murder within the church and church officers robbed "the poor in a shameful way." (*HF*, V.5, VI.38.)

138. *EH*, I.27.

139. M. Deanesly, *Augustine of Canterbury*, London, Nelson, 1964, p.22.

140. *Ibid*, pp.14-16.

141. *Ibid*, pp.51,52.

142. *EH*, I.27.

143. Deanesly, *Augustine of Canterbury*, p.67.

144. *EH*, I.27. There is debate as to whether the answers to the questions are authentically Gregory's (Mayr-Harting, *The Coming of Christianity*, pp.269-271). Deanesly concludes that apart from the answers to the marriage questions possibly coming from Archbishop Nothelm, generally "the queries and answers given by Bede in the Ecclesiastical History are records of the correspondence of Augustine and Gregory in the summer of 601." (Deanesly, *Augustine of Canterbury*, p.63). According to Deanesly, the directions on what constituted lawful marriage were not written by Gregory as these rulings on canonical marriage were laid down at a later date. She argues that the answers on the generations, reflect Germanic and not Roman reckoning of generation. Englishmen would have been familiar with these counting systems. She suggests that Nothelm inserted the answer because of his pastoral outlook in the situation (p.69.) From her perspective she assumes "that the questions and answers sent to Bede do indicate the matters on which Augustine held important, matters on which, in his missionary see, he sought papal guidance and authorisations." (p.72.)

145. Walls, *The Significance of Christianity in Africa*, p.10. According to Mayr-Harting, "one of the foremost social problems the Church had to face was that of bringing the marriage customs of the Anglo-Saxons into line with its own norms." (Mayr-Harting, *The Coming of Christianity*, p.249). These questions on women and sexual restraint, he suggests were linked to the traditions the Church had established on these matters and the fact that Anglo-Saxon women possibly did not submissively fit the male-drafted rules and codes of the church. He also comments that the primary marriage problems "arose from situations like the conversion of one partner but not the other to Christianity or the desire of one partner but not the other to leave the marriage and embrace the religious life, from the custom of Anglo-Saxon men to marry their deceased wife's sister or their widowed step-mother, and from the degree of kindred within which a man and a woman might marry." (*Ibid*).

146. Walls, *The Significance of Christianity in Africa*, p.10.

147. J.Foster, *They Converted our Ancestors: A Study of the Early Church in Britain*, London, SCM Press, 1965, pp.79,85.
148. *The Letters of Saint Boniface*, Letter XXIV [33], Boniface asks Archbishop Nothelm of Canterbury to forward a copy of the questions sent to Pope Gregory I by the Anglo-Saxon Missionary, Augustine, and the Pope's answers thereto.
149. *EH*, III.22.
150. *EH*, IV.23.
151. *EH*, III.22.
152. *EH*, V.23, and p.347.
153. *EH*, IV.17.
154. *EH*, IV.3,23,24.
155. *The Letters of Saint Boniface*, p.4.
156. *Ibid*, pp.5,6.
157. *The Letters of Saint Boniface*, Letter XVII [25]. Pope Gregory commends Boniface to the Thuringians (724). Letter XX [28]. Pope Gregory III promotes Boniface to the rank of missionary archbishop and sends him the pallium. (c.732)
158. *Ibid*, Letter XX [28]. Pope Gregory III promotes Boniface to the rank of missionary archbishop and sends him the pallium. (c.732)
159. *Ibid*, Letter XL [50] Boniface to Pope Zacharias on his accession to the papacy (Early in 742). The Popes replies came in Letter XLI [51] Answers of Pope Zacharias to the Inquiries of Boniface (743).
160. *HF*, V.14.
161. *HF*, V.36.
162. *HF*, II.23, IV.33,36, V.5,14, VI.29, VII.22, VIII.5,33.
163. *HF*, III.36.
164. *HF*, I.39.
165. Mayr-Harting, *The Coming of Christianity*, p.64.
166. *EH*, I.30.
167. *Ibid*.

168. *Ibid.*

169. Deanesly, *Augustine of Canterbury*, p.89.

170. Bede "Life of Cuthbert," in *Lives of the Saints*, Penguin, England, 1965, translated by J.F. Webb, pp.75,76.

171. *Ibid.*

172. Mayr-Harting, *The Coming of Christianity*, p.20.

173. *EH*, III.22. Bede also gave a spiritual reason for the cause of death. The "real fault" was his disregard of a ban on entering a man's house whom the Bishop excommunicated because of an illicit marriage. This very man ended up being one of the murderers.

174. *EH*, III.2,28, IV.6,10,25, V.3-6.

175. Mayr-Harting, *The Coming of Christianity*, p.47.

176. *EH*, II.7.

177. Mayr-Harting, *The Coming of Christianity*, p.30.

178. *Ibid*, p.220.

179. *EH*, IV.3. Psalm 29:3,7.

180. *EH*, III.23. Bede describes this as a fulfilment of Isaiah's prophecy. In another case Bede tells of Cuthbert going to an island which was "the haunt of evil spirits [and] was very ill-suited to human habitation." (*EH*, IV.28.) When Cuthbert went to the island "he ordered the evil spirits to withdraw, and the island became quite habitable." (*EH*, IV.28.)

181. Mayr-Harting, *The Coming of Christianity*, p.102.

182. *EH*, III.23.

183. *EH*.III.22, and also a reference in *HF*, VI.27.

184. Mayr-Harting, *The Coming of Christianity*, p.258.

185. Bede described him as "the first archbishop whom the entire Church of the English obeyed". (*EH*, IV.2)

186. Mayr-Harting, *The Coming of Christianity*, p.259.

187. *Ibid*, pp.249-250.

188. Deanesly, *Augustine of Canterbury*, p.89.
189. Thailand Report, p.15.
190. "Lois's Letter", 1993. Vol. 10. No.3.
191. Pers. obs., Katiu, 18-12-1991.
192. Schaeffer, *Pollution and the Death of Man*, pp.66,67.
193. Bediako, Epilogue: The impact of the Bible in Africa, pp.4,5.
194. Cardinall, *Natives of the Northern Territories*, p. 115.
195. The letter is written on a page torn out of a 1976 dairy. Kwame Apetega probably wrote the letter in March 1993 after his father's death.
196. A.F. Walls argues that "Catholicism and Protestantism are respectively Latin and northern vernacular formulations of Christian faith, reflecting the conditions and the history of the north." (Walls, "The significance of Christianity," p.13)
197. Acts 18:26.
198. Pers. com., James Kancha, Accra Mamobi, 18-5-1992. Kancha told me that he had a number of *jona* which he had acquired from people and had not inherited from his father. They included: *liri*, *kambi* and he had painted a cross on his wall to protect his family from *yisena* people.

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GLOSSARY

The Kasem used in this study predominately reflects the Kasem spoken in the Chiana area of the western Kasena-Nankana District. Many of the words are similar to those used in Navrongo and Paga, but there are some noticeable differences. In the translations into English I have attempted to translate nearly literally which means that at times the English expression and grammar is somewhat distorted.

Two written vowels and one consonant are not found in the written English alphabet. 'ŋ' is similar to the English sound 'ng', but it may occur at the beginning of a word such as *ŋwaane* 'because of'.

ε, phonetic symbol /ε/ as in the Kasem word *wε* 'God'.

ɔ, phonetic symbol /ɔ/ as in the Kasem word *bukɔ* 'daughter'.

b

Baŋa Wε	- High (creator) god
baŋa/bε	- bangle
baro/banna	- husband
bayaaro/bayaa	- (Navrongo, see also <i>vayaa/vayε</i>) person who digs graves and places the body there
boore	- exchange (fostering) of children between brothers
boŋ	- to call
bɔɔlo/a	- lover, girl-friend; way of addressing member of opposite sex of the same generation
bu/bia	- child/ children
bukɔ	- daughter
buisenŋa/busesi	- young baby
bwei	- to ask

c

chero/a	- person with the power to 'see' the soul of another person; some eat or destroy the soul, others do not; 'witch'
chichira/i	- bush spirits (a. those called by the <i>chichiri beenu</i> ; b. those associated with bush animals, birds, fish.)
chichiri beenu	- 'spirit' caller
chichiru/chichirru	- 'spirit' or 'fairy' a woman gives birth to (evil) - 'spirit' which comes from rivers or the bush (good)
chichiru kwenu	- 'spirit' taker; the person who destroys the <i>chichiru</i> a woman gives birth to.
chiru/a	- spirit of a dead person
choŋa/choe	- quiver for arrows - way, path - opportunity, chance - way of life
chouro/chourro	- relatives through the mother; whose mother's are agnates
chourro zoo	- children who are full siblings
chulu/chullu	- taboo, restriction, rule, custom

churu	- place of the departed ancestors
d	
daa/dɛ	- side, flank, sub-division
	- stick, wood
deo (de)/dia	- python
didogo/didwonu	- old house
diga/di	- room
diga nia	- (lit. room people) immediate, nuclear family
diga-pɔɔ	- outer circular room
diga-yugu	- inner circular room entered only through diga-pɔɔ
doa/dwe	- rain
doa tu	- rain guardian
dole	- to throw
dola/e	- throwing 'medicine' or charm
duŋa/dwi	- divinity which a child is dedicated to in the naming ceremony
dui/dua	- family, type
f	
fari	- Fathers (priest)
fera/i	- the top segment of the late millet (yaara) stalk (kasogo) which is cut off directly under the head and used to measure things
feri nɛ	- (lit. to cover legs) funeral ritual in which an animal is killed for the deceased to take to churu
firu	- ritual of blowing ash associated with birth/naming rituals
fao kuri	- harvest celebration
fulim	- last phase of the funeral
g	
guli/a	- millet based porridge
gwala	- slave raids, slave raiders
j	
jiru/jiiru	- a person who 'sees' the soul of another and has the power to turn into an animal; dangerous thing; 'witch'.
joni/a	- shrine, small mud mounds with stones placed on the top on which sacrifices are made
jooni/a	- widow bathing ritual performed during the lua fulim
joro/jwooru	- soul, spirit of a living person, animal or millet
jorolao	- good spirit; a term for God's Holy Spirit
k	
kaane/a (n)	- wife, woman
kaane (v)	- to perform ritual on the shrine usually incorporating prayer and immolation of a fowl or animal (not always) to restore, unify and reconcile. Kaane is frequently translated as 'sacrifice'.
kaanem (n)	- ritual related to a shrine, the sacrifice, sacrificing
kadem	- widow
kadiko/kadikwoa	- married daughter of a lineage
kadiri/ kadira	- marriage process and associated prestations
kambia/i	- pot

kanyanchoro /chorro	- a person who has the power to transform themselves into a donkey or other type of wild animal and 'catch' a person's soul
kawolo	- a type of tree
kɔgɔ/kworro	- ghost
kwara/e	- animal horn containing ritual 'medicine' used for either destructive or protective purposes
	- the sacred object of Kasena chiefs, symbol of judicial authority
kwim	- first phase of a funeral after burial
kwo/kwoa	- father/s
kwobia	- fathers children
l	
lira/i	- medicine obtained from traditional practitioners (see also teim).
	- western medicine
lua	- funeral
n	
naare/a	- hard round stone used by blacksmiths
nabaare	- ancestral shrine, ancestral times or traditions
nabaaro/a	- ancestor
nabera/nabanna	- uncle, mother's brother
nabili/a	- tail
nagura/e	- lineage and/or clan-settlement; the group of houses which kill cows together and share them amongst themselves.
nawuri/a	- (Navrongo, see nagura) lineage and/or clan-settlement
nakwe/nakwia	- elder, lineage head
nu/niina	- mother/s
nyena/nyenna	- Chiana people use this term to also refer to "father" (kwo)
nyenabia	- "father's" children
p	
pito	- millet beer
puŋa/pwe	- shelter outside compound
puŋa/pwi	- woman's calabashes and pots destroyed at her funeral (the term sogo is used in Navrongo)
pwe chira	- ritual to determine a thief (the voro takes earth from the chira and mixes it with water, makes everyone drink the mixture and the 'mixture' will attack the culprit through sickness or death)
s	
sampwora/i	- seer, holds the power to set free those whose souls have been caught by chera; able to predict future events
sayugu/sayuni	- principal house of a lineage
setaane/a	- Satan, a demon
	- an evil or bad influence, bad behaviour
sinlaao	- Holy Spirit
sɔŋɔ/sam	- house, compound
sɔŋɔ tiina	- house people (present, travelled, departed)
sɔŋɔ tu	- househead

sumsum bia	- a Twi expression for spirit - bia is Kasem for children
swɛɛm	- naming ceremony(sometimes referred to as "swɛ lira")
swɛri puga	- (lit. bathe stomach) ritual performed at the time of a woman's first pregnancy
swɛro	- bathing rite after birth
t	
tangwane/a	- sacred place (hill, grove of trees, river or water hole)
tangwam	- an alternative form of "tangwane"
tangwam tu	- earth shrine guardian
teo/teene	- village, town, country
tega	- earth
tega tu	- land guardian
teim	- traditional medicine (see also lira)
tembaaro/a	- in-laws
tiŋ ni	- (lit. put down mouth or deposit)to make a vow, promise
tu/tiina	- owner, head, guardian
tuba	- (Arabic Tauba) repent
v	
vayaga/vayɛ	- person who digs graves and places the body there (see also bayaaro/bayɛ)
voro/a	- diviner
vogo	- items used for divination
w	
wada/ɛ	- rules, regulations, laws, order
wɛ/woa	- supreme being; God; gods
	- guardian spirit or personification of personality;
	- sky, sun, weather
Wɛ choŋa	- God's way, Christianity, Christian gospel
Wɛ diga	- (lit. God's house) church
wɛleera	- sin
wo-dɔga/wo-dwe	- something perched on something; an unusual event, such as chameleons mating or seeing a shea nut leaf growing on the fruit of the kawolo tree
	- a misfortune often resulting from breaking a "chulu" (custom) or prohibition
wo-dedoa	- (lit. one stomach) ke n wo-dedoa de Yezu - believe, have faith
y	
yazura	- health, well-being, peace, to be 'free'
yisena	- (lit. red eye) envious, jealous person
yugu wɛ	- personal guardian shrine
yuu chichira	- (lit. 'head spirit') destiny, luck

APPENDIX ONE

KAYORO VICTORY SONG

The song is transcribed with a "free" translation given below and some individual word meanings highlighted following the translation.

Transcription

Ba ta Nafera ta ke mεmε
Samyiga gwala ta ke mεmε
Banto ba wam ba ba noη Kwarapasa yo
Nɔɔn-nɔɔno yeire Achagenia
Debam na vere taa de ja vo Kukula
Ba vere pwalo ba tan de pεero
Ayaranε kale wo jana ne
Ba wuli puri puri puri puri
Ya ya muri zi dugu
Abonia si dia kam ni
Kayoro Gambaa Achagenia Kale wo jana ne

Ba duri ba wan wan ba ba noη Kwara pasa yo
Nɔɔn-nɔɔno yeire Achagenia
Debam na vere taa de ja vo Kukula
Ba vere pwalo ba tan de pεero
Ayarania kale wo jana ne.

(Source: Mama Awotunjeli and members of Adunia's house)

Translation

They should tell Fera be doing slowly (i.e., stop what they are doing)
Slave raider from the west should be doing slowly (stop)
They can not come here because of Kwarapasa
Nobody knows Achagenia
We have saved ourselves and driven them all the way to Kukula
They confiscate saddles, they added guns
Ayarania's weapon is covered in blood
They ululate [noise sounds]
[Sounds - meaning uncertain]
Abonia cooked the small pot mouth [proverb see meaning below]
Kayoro Gambaga. Achagenia's weapon is in blood.

They run they can not come here because of Kwara pasa
No one knows Achaganian
We saved ourselves always all the way to Kukula
They confiscated saddles and guns
Ayaranian's weapon is in blood.

Meanings of selected words

Nafera - the Kasena Fera

samyiga- house front on west side of the house (way of saying coming from west)

Kwarapasa - the name of horn *kwara* used by the chief and for protection

Achagenia - the people from Kachela clan-settlement in Kayoro

Ayarania - This is either the person who did the slaying or the leader who was slain

dia kam - Small pot used for preparing or keeping "medicine" (*liri*) in

kale - a sword type of weapon

Gambaga - the chief at the time the British first came

Proverb meaning: Abonia people have been able to stop them from doing what they want by using "medicine".

APPENDIX TWO

PRAYER DURING A LIBATION AT THE FAO FESTIVAL

Transcription of the words which the *nakwe tu* spoke:

*Jog na banto naa. Awo jeja mo naa. N pa Balu de Chiana de ba tega kam.
Wogo kolo de na lage de foge logo kom ne naa,
Banto mo lage ba foge na pa debam naa
Ba pa ko kwe lanyerane na wogo kolo maama na wo Chiana ne.
Ba mo wo sore ba pa debam. Paa balo de na tua se ba toge ba wole debam.
We de wa ja ba Chiana kwara de wa pa ba ke ni dedwi.
Ko pa be gwaane jeja maama foge ko vo Accra.
Chiana pe na jei o de ta o jege yugu o na ma o vei me.
O de o nyena bam pu o koga se debam nyenna na man ba zan ba jege teo kom mo.
Ba wo choge teo kom na.
Konto gwaane mo a lage a ta naa se Chiana kwara de Zambao de Chiana Kola,
Banto mo wo van wogo maama ba ja , ba ke Belu jeja ne, ba ke Chiana jeja ne.
Ba ke Kulu jeja ne. A daa ba jege taane.
A loore We tei ne se a daa ba jege taane dedon.
Ba kwaane ba loore a we paa bam ba ke ni dedwi se teo kom ko ta dana,
Nnon bu maama a ke ni dedwi se teo kom ta dana.
Se ko foge a yere se ko ji naban nyem daga.
Konto gwaane se a ta a bere abam se a ke a lei lanyerane.
A pa ko nam foge ko ja lanyerane ko ja daane se a mage jia poli.
Wogo wora We pae de yage. De yi pa wolong ba, ko pa vera na tu ba jei.
Ba de jeini. Banto maama de Baga We loore choga ba pa debam.*

Translation:

Collect this water. It is Awo's hand. Give it to Balu and Chiana and their land.
The thing which we want to make good in the world
They want to make it good and give it to us.
They let it make everything well that is in Chiana.
They will take it off and put it down for us. The chiefs who came to help us.
It is God and Chiana kwara who will let them make one mouth (be united)
It allows everywhere up to Accra to be reconciled.
How Chiana chief is sitting, he will have a good luck (big head) everywhere he goes.
He and his fathers follow behind him for how our fathers got up they have been holding the world.
They did not spoil the world.
For this reason I want to talk so that Chiana kwara and Zambao and Chiana Kola,
They will hold everything and put in Belu's hand, they put in the hands of Chiana.
They put it in Kulu's hand. I don't have any more to say.
I beg from God but I don't have any other matter to add.
They should try to beg, I said, the chiefs make one mouth so that the world is strong.
Everybody, you should make one mouth so that the town will be strong.
So that it will make your name good and it becomes a weak man's stick.

That is what I have to tell you all. I thank all of you.
You let it go well for a long time so that I clap hands.
There is something God made us leave. Don't let evil come, for strangers come and sit.
They also sit. They all and God beg the way for us.

Meaning of selected words:

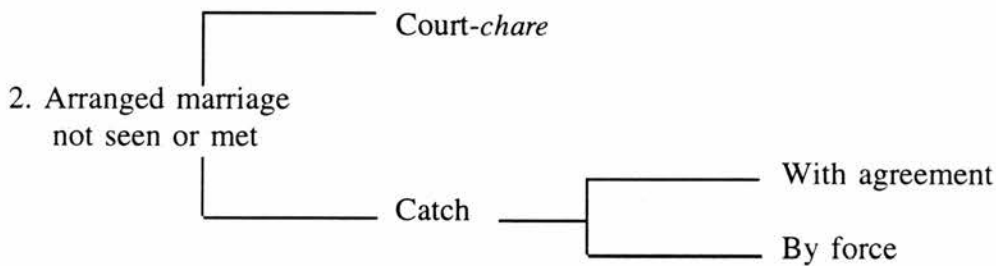
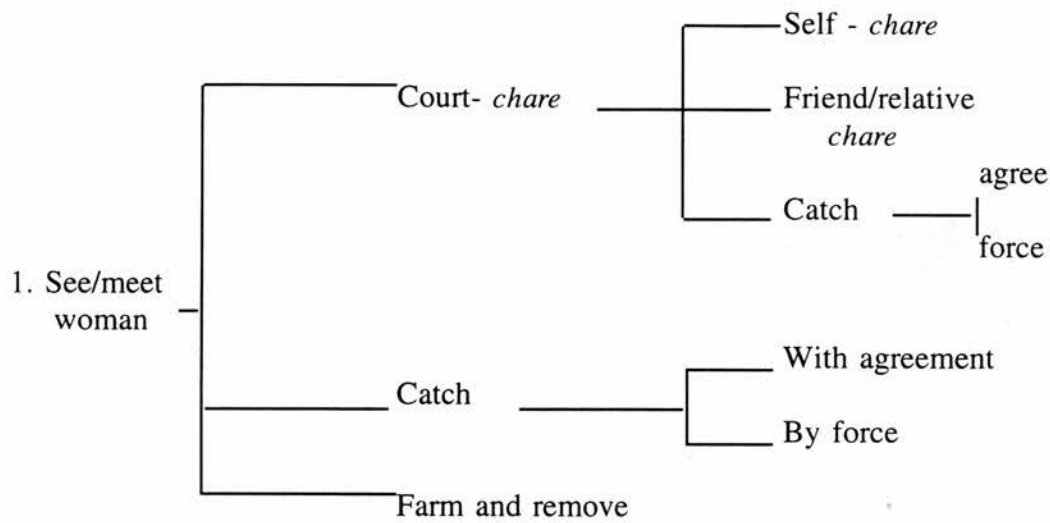
Awo, Baluṅ, Kulu and Chiana - all ancestors

Zambao, Kola - tangwana

Chiana kwara - the chief's kwara

APPENDIX THREE

WAYS TO MARRY A WIFE



3. Wife presentation by another person

4. Chosen by a widow

5. Given a maidservant - *Kanyaane* or *daaro* - for a wife

Source: A.Howell, Marriage practices among the Kasena of Northern Ghana, p.10.

APPENDIX FOUR

SUMMARY OF PERSONAL HISTORY (PH) INTERVIEWS

117 male 68 females
172 people had travelled to the south.

Education: 126 no formal education, 16 primary school, 29 middle school, 4 senior school; 9 some tertiary training; 1 university.

Locations where interviews took place

Bolga-Tamale	8	Paga, Paga-Buru	8
Sandema	1	Chuchuliga	3
Katiu	12	Saga	5
Chiana	95	Kayoro	13
Nakong	2	Navrongo	12
Accra	19	Suhum	7

Church affiliation

CHURCH	Total	Male attend	Male not	Fem attend	Fem not
AOG	27	2	-	6	-
COLM	16	8	-	8	-
CP	13	7	-	6	-
GN	76	31	5	31	9
PCG	15	4	6	4	1
RC	30	27	-	3	-
Other	3	3	-	-	-
Sub-total	180	101	11	58	10
Muslim	1	1			
None	4	4			
TOTAL	185	101	16	58	10

Reasons people stopped attending church

#	Sex	Reason
3	F	Because of responsibilities in funeral performances.
5	F	Insults either by family or outsiders, poverty, too much work.
1	F	Attend too many women's meetings.
1	F	Husband who was muslim died and buried by muslims.
6	M	Because of the <i>jona</i> ; became househead, family threats.
2	M	Friends left church; too much work; friends pulled away.
1	M	baptism refused caused dispute.
2	M	Old age and sickness.

Places where respondents were when he or she first began to follow *Wε choŋa*

13 Accra	6 Suhum
9 Kumasi	3 Mim or south
2 Tamale	9 Walewale
17 Navrongo	11 Paga, Paga-Buru
5 Saga	6 Katiu
8 Kayoro	3 Nakong
2 Sandema	4 na
87 Chiana	

Chiana clan-settlements: 6 - Abulu, 2 - Adasong, 18 - Asunia, 11 - Nyangania, 15 - Gugoro, 9 - Gwenia, 13 - Kalivio, 10 - Kanania,

40 (21.6%) began to follow God's way outside of the traditional Kasena homeland area. Only two of this group were in RC church.

Changing church: from RC to another church

	Total	M	F
RC-AOG	3	3	-
RC-CC-GN	1	1	-
RC-COLM-CP	1	1	-
RC-COLM-GN	6	2	4
RC-COLM-SU-CP	1	1	-
RC-CP	3	1	2
RC-GN	11	9	2
RC-GN-AOG	2	2	-
RC-GN-MUS	1	1	-
RC-JONA-AOG	1	1	-
TOTAL	30 (40%)	22	8

Reasons for changing church:

21 - heard new teaching (moved into the AOG, GN, or CP)

3 - a church started which was a closer distance (they moved into COLM and GN).

1 - moved area.

2 - disputes.

3 - influence of others; moved to COLM.

10 - changed from the RC to another church in the south.

From COLM as a first church to other churches

	Total	M	F
COLM-GN	26	8	18
COLM-RC	2	2	-
COLM-RC-COLM	1	1	-
TOTAL	29(16%)	11	18

Reason for leaving COLM

14 - disagreed with teaching, read God's word

2 - accused of being *chero*; caught by one.

1 - sick child not healed.

3 - went along to see in the first place

The remainder followed other friends or relatives who left.

Another church to COLM to another church.

12 - left some church, changed to COLM and then left the COLM for a third church.

6 - not teach the truth

3 - because of the *chero* or "sumsum"

3 - family reasons

Total 41 (25.7%) of the total attending church left the COLM.

From PCG to another church

	Total	M	F
PCG-AOG-PCG	1	-	1
PCG-COLM-GN	3	1	2
PCG-GN	3	-	3
PCG-CP	1	1	-
PCG-RC-COLM-GN	1	1	-
TOTAL	9(5%)	3	6

Reason for leaving PCG

3 - no PCG was located in their area of present residence.

4 - because heard new teaching.

1 - left area, but did not attend church until Kasem speaking church started.

From other churches

9 - left AOG, Baptist, CP, GN or Independent churches.

Reasons : rejected as leader; husband a muslim; no money as a pastor; could not understand Twi and did not feel welcome; moved area and no church of their former denomination in that area.

APPENDIX FIVE

SOME OF THE FIRST PEOPLE BAPTISED FROM CHIANA, KATIU, KAYORO AND NAKONG

No.	Name of Person	Birth	Baptism	Death	Remarks
68	Henry Anemana	17 yr	25-12-12	NA	Wurunia
891	Raphael Pwalua	1908	24-12-32	1967	Gwenia
1034	Michael Webe	21 yr	31-03-34	-2-44	Abulu
1070	Peter Atumwo	35 yr	25-04-34	1953	Gwenia
625	Lucien Adayira	1930	20-04-35	-	Gwenia RtC*
1181	Moses Adayira	1905	20-04-35	28-04-56	Asunia
711	Lucien Aditoma Yera	1932	12-04-36	1965	Asunia
1246	Josphat Yera	1909	12-04-36	1971	Asunia
1247	Alexis Ategrebane	1910	12-04-36	-	Abulu/Nyan
1249	Thomas Felsongo	1919	12-04-36	-	Gwenia-Kan
1252	David Azoakware	1910	12-04-36	-	Kayoro
1284	Anna Agre	1923	12-04-36	NA	Yera's wife
	Peter Ajegewonia		1936		Katiu
1924	Charles Abadaaloor	1917	20-12-37	-	Chiana RtC*
1421	Gilbert Chirajamwo	1910	20-12-37	-	Katiu-Saga
	Jacob Ajaachoge		20-12-37		Katiu
1438	Andrews Anyenakore	1917	20-12-37	21-12-73	Yidania
1423	Benjamin Ali Alagajei	1897	20-12-39	17-07-74	Katiu-Saga
1564	Robert Abuga	1925	21-12-39	-	Asunia
1620	Jospeh Agre	1923	24-12-41	-	Katiu RtC*
1625	Matthew Ayaga	1922	24-12-41	18-11-82	Asunia
1675	Margaret Ayaga	1926	18-03-44	-	Asunia

Information supplied by the Roman Catholic Church, Navrongo.

* RtC - Retired Catechist

APPENDIX SIX

KASENA CHURCHES IN THE KASENA-NANKANA DISTRICT

Abbreviations

AOG	Assemblies of God
C of God	Church of God
COLM	Church of the Lord Mission
EP	Evangelical Presbyterian
GN	Fellowship of Good News Church
ME	Methodist
PCG	Presbyterian Church of Ghana
RC	Roman Catholic
SP	Spiritual Church (possibly COLM)

CHURCHES IN CHIANA, KATIU, KAYORO AND NAKONG

	1987	1992
Chiana		
Nyangania	GN	GN
Abulu	GN COLM	GN COLM
Kanania	GN	GN RC
Gwenia	PCG RC	PCG RC
Kalivio	GN	GN (2)
Gugoro	COLM GN	COLM GN
Adasong	GN	GN
Asunia	PCG GN	PCG GN CP
Adognia	RC	RC
Yidania		GN
Katiu		
Saga	GN COLM	GN COLM
Adabania	COLM	GN
Saboro	PCG RC	PCG GN RC
Kayoro		
Baliu	GN	GN CP
Kayoro-woro	RC GN	RC GN
Nakong		
Atinia	GN	RC AOG
Awenia	GN	GN C.of God

CHURCHES IN NAVRONGO AND PAGA AREAS

	1987	1992
Navrongo		
Navrongo	CC EP ME PCG AOG CP RC SP (3)	RC PCG AOG EP ME CP COLM COL Brotherhood Musama Christo Disco Deeper Life Ministry Broken Yoke Foundation Church of Navrongo Seventh Day Adventist
Gean		CP COLM
Paga		
Paga town	PCG CP AOG RC COLM	UP CP COLM RC PCG AOG
Kajelo	RC	
Paga-Badunu	PCG	COLM PCG
Paga-Navio	AOG COLM	AG COLM
Manyoro	COLM	RC COLM
Paga-Nakolo	RC	RC
Boania	COLM	COLM
Sakaa		PCG

Source for 1987 church locations: GEC, Upper East Regional Church/Evangelism Survey, 1988, pp.1/7-1/13.

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APPENDIX EIGHT

EXPANDED LIST OF KASENA PROBLEMS, QUESTIONS AND ISSUES ADDRESSED TO CHURCH LEADERS

1. Barrenness, Pregnancy, Birth and Children

- (1) Not bearing a child. He and his wife have been married for a long time, and have no children together. The woman's house people trouble her to leave her husband. The husband's house people also talk against both of them. So there is no happiness between them. It really troubles him.
- (2) Is it a sin to take medicine to prevent conception? Is it sin to take medicine to spoil conception?
- (3) I have 7 children and we are poor with nothing. Does God permit me to do family planning even though my husband refuses?
- (4) If a Christian's wife becomes pregnant and they want to *sweri puga*, what will you do?
- (5) If a person dies, can he return to earth?
- (6) My husband is not a Christian and we have a child, how do we teach the child to go the right way?

2. Love, courtship, marriage, divorce

- (1) A couple asked me to liaise between them and a young suitor of their daughter. They wanted the young man to understand that he could only marry their daughter if he would promise that he would not interfere with their daughter's practice of her religion.
- (2) If I do not find a Christian girl to marry, can I marry a non-Christian?
- (3) Thanks in church. I came from market and reached my father's house and my father asked me if I saw any one in the market. I said no. He said I am lucky. They wanted to catch me in the market. I thank God for helping me to escape in the market.
- (4) Some daughter's parents demand alcohol, tobacco and the sacrifice of some gods by proposed husbands before giving their daughters out in marriage. Should Christians give in?
- (5) If a Christian has a wife, can he give some animals for the "*kɔga wonnu*" (back things)?
- (6) My wife's father's house people came to me and said they want to collect some animals because of my wife and a cow because of the child. What should I do?
- (7) Can a Christian man or woman marry an unbeliever?
- (8) If a Christian man has not married and he wants to marry, but he does not find a Christian girl to marry, what should he do? [Christians frequent request prayer to find Christian partners. One man I heard request prayer for a "Christian wife" had specifically come north from Kumasi to find a wife.]
- (9) If Christian's father wants to get you a wife who is not a Christian, will you agree?

- (10) If a married woman [or man] becomes a Christian and the spouse does not, what should she [he] do? Is it right to leave the spouse who does not know God?
- (11) Why do Christians have weddings? Is it to stop the woman running away? If the woman does run and marry another man, what will the church do?
- (12) If people have been married for a long time, can they have the marriage ceremony?
- (13) Why is it wrong to sleep with another man's wife?
- (14) What should a Christian man do when people begin to ask him whether he is going to marry his wife's *kanyaane* (maidservant)?
- (15) Is it right for a Christian to have a *bɔɔlo* (lover)? A new Christian woman asked what to do about her long standing *bɔɔlo*. When she originally married her husband, they did not have children and her husband gave her a *bɔɔlo*. She had her first child by him, but the subsequent children were by her own husband. Her husband died, and she now knew as a Christian should stop having this *bɔɔlo*. What should she tell him? [She is not entitled to marry him as her husband's funeral has not been performed. Secondly, he does not fit within the category of men she can call as husband. If she does marry him and move into his house, her children remain within her first husband's house as they belong to his family.]
- (16) A man's wife leaves, he remarries but then becomes a Christian. What does he do when his first wife wants to return to him or someone else brings her back (her children are with him)?
- (17) If a Christian's wife leaves, can he remarry?
- (18) Is it right to "summons" a wife who has left and remarried?
- (19) A woman's husband deserted her and left for the south because his parents and the woman both became Christians and tried to tell him God's word. She requested prayer to know what to do.
- (20) A woman requested prayer because her husband left for the south and she and her children had nothing to eat. The house people refused to help her because she had refused to *sweri puga* (pregnancy rites) and to use the *chichiru liri* at her child's birth.
- (21) A woman asked if it was right to return to her father's house because her Christian husband refused to talk or sleep with her.
- (22) What is a Christian woman to do when she discovers that her husband, who is presently working in another area, is now living with another woman and neglects her and her six children?
- (23) What is a Christian woman to do to prevent her husband from committing suicide because her husband has slowly become sexually inactive, and is worried now that his wife might desert him?
- (24) A Christian woman married a Christian when she lived in her uncle's house. Her uncle now wants to 'collect' her and send her back to her father's house. What will she do, especially if her father wants to send her to marry someone who is not a Christian?
- (25) If a Christian's mother and father, want her to leave her husband because they say he will not buy them drink, what will she say to her father and mother?
- (26) How can a Christian who was a polygamist before he believed, love both his wives equally?

- (27) If a man married more than one wife before conversion, should he keep one and divorce the rest? If a woman married a non-Christian who already had a wife and she then became a Christian, should she divorce her husband for being the second wife?
- (28) A Christian woman is married to a non-Christian and he wants to take a second wife, what should she do?
- (29) Why can not a Christian marry two wives? If God created man and only one woman, why should God allow people to be polygamists? Who taught them this idea? If Jacob was a friend of God as a polygamist, why should Christians speak against polygamy?
- (30) A Christian man, Kofi, befriended a girl, Dedaane who was in the same church, and wanted to marry her. This girl's mother is from Kofi's clan-settlement. Kofi's father has died and his househead is not a Christian. The househead was already angry with Kofi because Kofi always refused to *kaane jona*. When he learned Kofi wanted to marry Dedaane he refused to allow the marriage to take place because her mother was from their area. He went to Dedaane's parents and told them that if Dedaane's mother died, no one from his clan-settlement would attend her funeral. Dedaane's parents then refused to receive the gifts from Kofi. Kofi and Dedaane then decided to live together and they ended up having a child. The church temporarily suspended them.

3. Death, funerals, widows and inheritance

- (1) If a Christian's parents make a vow at death, that their child should sacrifice a cow to him, should the Christian fulfil the vow?
- (2) Can Christians mourn when someone dies?
- (3) If a Christian dies, why do the house people usually refuse to let Christians bury the body?
- (4) A woman from our clan (nagura) wanted to know what to do about her husband's funeral. When the husband died she was not with him. After he died, she returned to his house. They are now preparing to make his funeral. What is she to do?
- (5) As a believer, should I be involved in funeral ritual to show respect to my parents?
- (6) If you are a Christian can you make funerals? What can a Christian do? What about the *doo*? [This is the day they cook the food against the walls, the in-laws come that day.] Can you enter his *tio* (barn)? What do you do at your father's funeral?
- (7) A Christian told me they were going to perform his father's funeral. He wanted to know what he should do and what he should not do. His younger brother does not understand why he should not do certain things. He wanted to know when the funeral begins will it annoy God. What will he do? Like the *botara gula* (orphan's TZ); and the *choŋa gula* (quiver's TZ). He is the senior son what will he do?
- (8) If you are a Christian and a person dies in your house, what can you do? They *feri ne*, they cry and they "*fuli*"?
- (9) During a man's father's funeral, sons are expected to bring fowls and hit them dead against walls, indicating that they are given to the dead. Should a Christian do this?
- (10) When my father's funeral is performed, I have to look for the place where his *jona* will be put before they perform his funeral. What will I do with these things?

- (11) A man's mother's funeral is performed (*kwim*) and they have not finished the *fulim*. If he is now a Christian and they want to *fuli* the funeral, what will he do?
- (12) I want you to pray for me. My mother died and they want to perform the funeral. Pray so God will help me to go to the funeral and then come back in good health. I will thank God.
- (13) If a Christian's father or mother die and they want to perform the funerals, what will you do in it?
- (14) If a Christian's wife's parents die, can he perform the funeral?
- (15) The funeral rites of my late parents have been performed. It is my father-in-law's funeral which is now pending. As a Christian what steps can I take not to compromise my stand and yet not to be alienated from the community?
- (16) If a Christian woman dies and they want to perform the funeral, will they perform it in the traditional way or in the Christian way?
- (17) Can a Christian man marry his older brother's widow? Can a Christian man care for his older brother's wife and children?
- If a man dies, can his widow remarry?
- (18) My husband died before I was a Christian and I called a man's name to be my husband. I have now become a Christian, is it right for me to leave this husband whose name I called?
- (19) A Christian's father died and left his cattle. You are the eldest son. If they perform the funeral and you do not take part, you are not to take the things. How can you leave the cows for a younger brother and the funeral too, if you can not perform it because of the Christianity? It is very difficult, what will you do?
- (20) If a Christian is the eldest son of a man and the man dies, the son must perform his father's funeral, before the house can be handed to his father's younger brother. If he does not perform the funeral, the *nagura* (clan) will not agree to hand over the house to the younger brother. What should he do?
- (21) I am a Christian who was supposed to inherit my father's land, but when our father died, my younger brother who is not a Christian collected the land. Can I summons my brother to court and collect the land?
- (22) If a Christian dies and he was the only Christian in his house and he leaves his wife and children, who will take care of the children while they are still small?

4. Farming, food, hunger

- (1) If you go to farm someone's land, you go and greet the land owner first with tobacco and inform him. What should a Christian do?
- (2) Can a Christian put protective medicine in his groundnuts or millet?
- (3) If a Christian begs people to farm for him, people will only farm if you buy them tobacco, kola or alcohol. What will the Christian do?
- (4) He lost his guinea fowls and the father asked him to give him some money to go to the *voró* find out why the guinea fowls were lost. He refused and prayed. During harvest he found the feathers, so he knew that some animal killed the guinea fowls. He thanked God that he did not go to the *voró*.

- (5) This year hunger has hit everyone. Those who have not given themselves to God, say the reason we Christians do not have anything is because we follow Christ. They say we always walk for nothing. We do not farm. When we farm, it does not come well. It now troubles my thoughts, I do not know what to do. What will I do?
- (6) What will a man do so that his family are not hungry?
- (7) Where does food come from to the earth?

5. Work and Trading

- (1) In God's way they [apparently some Christians] say you should not trade. Why should Christians not do what they can to get food? When Moses and his followers were there, they got mana from heaven, but now it's not like that, so you must work. If a Christian trades and he buys for 10 cedis and sells it for 20 cedis and gets a profit, people say it's a sin - it is cheating because a Christian should not cheat his friend. How can a Christian get food?
- (2) Can Christians buy medicine at some place and come and sell it to people? If a Christian is not to trade because they will be cheating people, then what actual work should a Christian be doing? A Christian does not work for himself, if a Christian is not to trade, then what work can a Christian do to feed his family?
- (3) Sometime ago I travelled home [north] and was given some *liri* to help my trading. I came back, but I did not use it. When I became a Christian I threw them away. Will I be affected?
- (4) If a Christian begs people to help him in his work, those who sacrifice shrines refuse to work for you because they say you do not sacrifice, what will you do? If they beg for help, will you work for such a person or what will you do? Will you refuse to work for him because last time he refused to work for you or will you work for him?
- (5) If a Christian [a church leader] does not do any work and they [his church] do not pay him, how can he look after his family?
- (6) Can a Christian become a soldier or a police man?
- (7) I wrote a letter to apply for work. They never said I should consult *vora* or *liri* people and God helped me to get the work. I know that God has power and I want to believe (*wo-dedoa*) in God.

6. Sickness, accident, mental illness, snake bite

- (1) A man's children and wives are sick all the time. Many of the friends are trying to confuse him to leave God's way and come back to the *jona*, because they say he has refused the *jona*.
- (2) A sick Christian has been to the hospital 3 or 4 times and has not recovered. His mind is very troubled because he does not know whether God wants it to cease.
- (3) If I make an oath to God and pray for health, but do not become well, what do I do?
- (4) If a Christian is sick and wants to get *liri* and he is told to bring a fowl so they *kaane lira* before they give it to him, what will he do?

- (5) If a Christian meets someone who sacrifices [i.e., not a Christian] lying on the road because of his sickness, what will he do?
- (6) If a Christian's relative is dying and has leprosy, will the sickness transfer to the Christian if he holds him?
- (7) If a person wants to build a latrine, what should he do? Where will he see help to do it? [Apparently there had been health teaching in his church and people had been encouraged to dig latrines, so this man asked how was he to do it.]
- (8) A young Christian was injured in an accident. The man's father asked him "Why were you injured if you say you are following God? Where is your God?" Early one morning the Christian awoke and discovered a *voro* had come and he was told to come out as they were going to build his *yugu we*. The Christian started praying and then came outside. He told them all to leave and take the *we* away. His father and the *voro* became annoyed and left.
- (9) When a Christian becomes mentally ill and dies, is it a sin?
- (10) A woman became mentally ill in the south because another woman gave her kola to chew which caused the sickness. They tried to heal her through taking oaths on rivers and earth shrines in the south, but failed. They then tried at Bolga and Kukula, but failed. The husband met a church leader in market and asked if he could bring her to church. The church leader told him to bring the wife to church for prayer.
- (11) If a snake bites a Christian and he is not able to go to the doctor, can he use Kasena *liri*?
- (12) A Christian is stung by a scorpion and his father goes to the *voro* where he learns that he must *kaane* to relieve the pain, should the Christian agree, especially if the pain is bad?

7. Alcohol, Tobacco and Kola

- (1) Why do some Christians not drink? Why do some churches have so many *chullu* (taboos) such as do not drink, chew kola, smoke?
- (2) Can Christians brew and trade pito?
- (3) I used to drink with my wife's parents at home. Now as a Christian, when I travel home and they ask me to buy drinks for them, what should I do?
- (4) If I am a Christian can I chew tobacco, eat kola and smoke?
- (5) I drank for 35 years and smoked for 32 years and all efforts to give up these failed until I found Christ and prayed with a congregation. I was delivered.

8. Disputes, anger, insult and gossip

- (1) Why do people have disputes between each other? How do people reconcile?
- (2) A group came and asked me to intervene with one of their office bearers who was not handing over duties to another person that she was supposed to.
- (3) God worked to bring her and her sister to church. They learned God's way. Now they do not constantly fight as they did in the past.
- (4) What do you do if you share the word of God with a person and he insults you?
- (5) If you stop smoking cigarettes and people insult you by saying that you will not give them cigarettes because you want to become rich, what do you do?

(6) What does a Christian do when people mock and laugh at them?

9. Dreams

(1) If a person dreams a dream, what will he do to know its meaning?

(2) My dead husband keeps appearing in my dreams. The dreams are bad, what should I do?

(3) A man dreamed he had a quarrel with some people and they cutlashed one another. They put him down, but after they dispersed, he got up. It really troubled his thoughts. He does not know whether it will really happen or what it will mean.

10. Education

(1) She wanted financial help to resit her examination in which she did not perform well.

(2) They asked me to plead with a headmaster to release her daughter from the school to allow her to continue her studies in another school in order to protect her from some boys in the school who seem to be 'disturbing' her.

(3) Prayer for exams.

11. Family

(1) Christians are not being given food in their house as the people claim that their *jona* whom the Christians will not worship, provide them with such food.

(2) A father gives his Christian son work on Sundays when the son wants to attend church.

(3) A Christian woman asked for prayer because her husband always questions her why she goes to church and sits there all that time.

(4) After I come from church, the house people laugh and insult me, what do I do? That is why I stopped attending church.

(5) A young Christian man asked for prayer because he did not want to return to his dead father's house with his mother because there were no Christian's in the area to encourage him.

(6) A woman pleaded for help with building a room as her own children had died.

(7) Should a Christian break away from unbelieving friends and relatives when we come to Jesus, or how do we compromise when we disagree?

(8) Is it a force for all Christians to have their own houses? If a person lives with his house people and he is troubled by the *jona kaanem*, what will he do? Should he come out and build his own house?"

(9) Should a Christian who wants land to build, give a fowl to the land owner so he *kaane tega*, otherwise the land is not given?

12. Migration

(1) My family went to Kumasi and left me alone without anyone to help. I ask for prayer that they will return.

- (2) Boy went south, and has not come back to go to school. Pray.
- (3) Her son went south years ago and they heard nothing from him. Recently they heard he is with the woman's older sister and he is fine and sent some soap for her. Gives thanks.
- (4) Travelled, prayed and God helped me to return safely.

13. Stealing, thief

- (1) If a Christian catches a thief, can he beat him? God's word says do not spoil your friend. If a person steals your things, what will you do?
- (2) Can a Christian swear by the rain? If a person's things become lost and they say he should swear to show who took the thing. What will a Christian do?
- (3) People stole about 11 chickens and previously stole my groundnuts. People told me to find a way to know why they have stolen them and who stole them. They will bring the diviner into the house or else, they will take the mud they use to mould the *chira* and they mix it in water for all to drink (*pwe chira*). The Holy Spirit helped me to not listen to those people, otherwise I would fall into sin. I refused to do this. Still I am okay, God is still with me. God helped me to cool my temper.

14. Other questions

- (1) Why are there no devoted Christian chiefs?
- (2) Can Christians play lotto?

15. Ancestors, spirits of the dead, shrines and spirits

- (1) What happens to those who died long ago and did not know God?
- (2) Is it true that ancestors or *jona* can answer man's prayers, even with Christians? Are they alive?
- (3) Are the ancestors not useful to Christians at all? Is it not right for Christians to also ask for intercession from the ancestors, just as we do with Jesus?
- (4) If Christians ask Jesus to intercede for them, then is that not disobedience to their parents? Are we not moving the role of ancestor from our ancestor to that of someone else's ancestor (i.e. Jesus)?
- (5) Humans have depended on ancestral worship for many years. People were said to be stronger and lived longer. What are your proofs that worship through Christ to the Father is real?
- (6) Can Christians leave all their ancestors *chullu* (customs)?
- (7) Who made the *chira*? God or Satan?
- (8) Why are *tangwana* and God not the same as people say that they are?
- (9) I am a *tangwam tu* (custodian of earth shrine) and I want to follow God, what will I do to leave those things and then follow God?
- (10) When I was a child, there was a *tangwam* (tree) in front of our house and my father named me after it. As a Christian, can I still maintain the name and what can I do to disassociate myself from that *tangwam*?

- (11) Non-Christians sacrifice at a *tangwam* and get what they want. If a Christian prays a long time and does not see the things, what should he do?
- (12) A friend in Accra has asked me to take him to a *tangwam* in Navrongo and offered to pay my transport costs to the north. As a Christian what should I do?
- (13) My father was a *tangwane tu* and not a Christian. He died and when his funeral is performed, the elders will collect a fowl from me to *kaane tangwane*. This removes my father's hands from it so they can give it to someone else and then I will be free. If a Christian refuses to perform the things which will remove his father's hands from the *tangwam*, they do not understand. What will I do?
- (14) I have been dedicated to certain idols since birth and there are bangles I have to wear always. Now I am a Christian, how can I release myself from this dedication, since my people at home will always associate me with the *jona*?
- (15) As a child I was given a bangle as my god. I am a Christian, what can I do with the bangle?
- (16) Should a Christian fulfil an oath he/she made to a *jona* before believing? If he/she does not, will the *jona* not attack him/her?
- (17) If a woman wants to become a Christian and they used *liri* to trap (*sɔm*) her, if she leaves the *liri* will it not spoil her?
- (18) Thanks. They made a *kwara* (protective horn) and put it on my neck. I accepted Jesus Christ and threw it away and I didn't die.
- (19) Is a Christian allowed to go with a brother (elder) to consult a *voro*?
- (20) Can a Christian give out something to be sacrificed on his/her behalf?
- (21) I am a person who sacrifices *jona*, what will I do to leave the *jona* and follow God?
- (22) I am expected to take over the family *jona* when my mother dies. As a Christian what should I do?
- (23) What should Christians do when they are asked to give animals or fowls for sacrifices in the house especially if someone who is not a Christian is ill?
- (24) Should a Christian give their in-laws something to *kaane*, because of fear or respect for the in-laws?
- (25) What should a Christian do if the in-laws demand sacrifice for *lira* upon which all the children, including a Christian's wife were bathed when born?
- (26) If my husband wants to *kaane jona*, and he asks me to prepare the food for the *jona*, what can I do? Can a woman prepare the food, even if she does not eat it?
- (27) Should a woman not attend church because her husband tells her he needs her help on a Sunday to prepare food for the *jona*?
- (28) If you are your father's only son and he wants you to catch a fowl and pluck it for him to *kaane jona*, what do you do?
- (29) Should Christians not eat food that has been prepared for the *jona*?
- (30) Why do Christians not eat food sacrificed on the *jona*?
- (31) I am my father's youngest son. I was not a Christian at the time he died and the elders gave me his *jona* to *kaane*. I have now become a Christian and they have not made my father's funeral, what will I do with the *jona*? [After a man's death, the younger son cares for the father's *jona* until his funeral is performed. During the funeral, a both the younger and eldest sons give fowls which are sacrificed to show that the *jona* are being handed over.]

16. Chero and jiru

(1) In the night, she feels afraid to walk alone. She thinks that there is a *jiru* that will disturb her soul. We told the woman that Jesus has power and through his power we can overcome the *jiru*, the *kogɔ* and the *kanyanchoro*. They have no power over us any more so she is not to be afraid in the night time. But still now the woman says she is always afraid in the night.

(2) If a *chero* or *jiru* catches someone's soul, can the soul go to heaven?

17. Belief, Scripture, the Church

(1) Creation:

If God created everything, why did he create evil things like poison?

(2) Adam and Eve, sin:

How do we know God created them and that they sinned, because no one was there? Why did they disobey God?

(3) Satan:

Where does Satan come from? If God has power over Satan, why did he not kill him? Satan can spoil people? Does he belong to God or who? [A whole series of questions on "Satan" were asked, mostly related to the telling of the creation story in Genesis.]

Why did God leave Satan to make people suffer and tempt people to sin in different things?

(4) Noah:

God used water to kill all the people on earth, does it mean God himself sinned? Why did God allow the water to destroy the animals and things which did not sin?

(5) Daniel: (based on Dan. 3:1ff)

They refused to obey their chief, is that good? Should we also refuse to obey our leaders today?

(6) Elisha and the healing of Naaman:

Elisha told Naaman to go and bathe in the Jordan river 7 times and he became well, was it medicine Elisha had or God blessed the water so that it could heal the sick? Because of that is it right for us to respect rivers?

If you do not know God, can you go to a river and get healed?

Was the *buga* a *tangwam* for them to see health?

If a Christian is sick and Christians pray and the sickness is not healed, can we go to the *liri* owners place and be healed? Will God accept it?

(7) Miracles of Jesus:

The story of Jesus healing the blind man: Was it because of the soil the man was healed? Who can open the eyes of the blind today?

We heard that Jesus Christ brought a powerful man's child back to life, can that happen to us today? Can we do miracles like Jesus did?

(8) Good Samaritan:

If somebody has many things, do you accept God then or when these things come to an end? If we have plenty of sins, will God receive us?

(9) Jesus arrest, crucifixion, burial and resurrection:

Why did Jesus curse Judas saying 'it would have been better for the one who betrayed him not to have been born'?

Did they perform Jesus' funeral?

Did the angels come to see how Jesus was raised from the dead?

When Jesus told Mary not to touch him does this mean he was a *kəgə* (ghost)?

(10) Other questions were asked about Jesus:

God's word says that all people are sinners. Why does not Jesus have sin?

Why was Christ a white and not a black? He is said to have died for both black and white.

(11) Holy Spirit:

Can a person see the Holy Spirit with his eyes? Does a person know where the Holy Spirit is? What does it mean when we say 'In the name of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit'?

(12) Death, heaven - hell ; purgatory; The soul:

If Jesus is the way, what can a person do to go to God's place?

If person dies, how can he get everlasting life from God? What will a Christian do for God to be happy so that he will get everlasting life when he dies?

Can the person return and rise again?

How do people know there is hell? How do people know there is heaven? Is heaven on earth or in the sky?

I heard that the day you accept God, God has written your name among Christians in heaven so that I know if I die, I go to heaven. Some people say if you become a Christian and move with non-Christians or do not attend every church meeting, you are doing things which do not please God and you will go to hell because you are following people who are not from our church group. Is this true?

If a person sins and you die, is there a place where God will put you for some time before you go to heaven?

What makes a person's soul to be alive?

If you hear God's word and refuse, you will not go to *telaao* (heaven). What happens to those who have never heard?

(13) Suffering, poverty, wealth:

Why do some wicked people prosper while some Christians suffer?

Will wealthy people go to God or not? Will poor people go to heaven or not? Why is poverty on all people and making everyone suffer like that?

God said we should help the poor. How are we to help them?

If someone follows God and he suffers, people say he is suffering because he follows God's way. What will you do?

Christ walked to far away places with his disciples and everywhere he went he did good, healing the sick, eating and even sleeping with sinners. Why is it that professing Christians stay in mansions, drive luxurious cars, ride on motorbicycles and bicycles and have no time for the poor and then even make no attempt to heal the sick?

When you have something you are planning to give God and someone comes and begs you for that thing, what are you to do?

What can I do to thank God, because I have no money?

(14) The Bible is incomplete without other books like 6 and 7 books of Moses, Why?

(15) The Church:

For what reasons should old people go to church?

Why are there so many different denominations?

(16) Church leaders source of food and finance:

Who gives you food to eat because you do not get ways to do work for yourself?

What does God's way do to help you so that you follow it and they do not pay you?

What do you see in it?

(17) The purpose of Christian festivals and ritual:

Why do Christians give their children to God? What help does it give?

Why is there a harvest festival in the church?

I do not understand 'Christmas'. What help does it give?

(18) Church Discipline:

A Christian complained about the gossip in the church and Christians judging actions without coming to the person.

If a person is baptised and then he is disciplined, can he still go to heaven? Can a person judge someone else when Jesus didn't judge people?

(19) Belief and faith :

What can I do to turn my back against the world and follow Christ?

If a person has *wo-dedoa* (one stomach - 'faith'), how will he know he has *wo-dedoa*?

(20) Baptism:

If a person is baptised in one church, can he be baptised again?

Some church leaders reported the requests they received to baptise children and difficulties they faced in their denomination of identifying whether this should go ahead. For example, if a man was married to more than one wife or if his marriage had not been blessed by the church (as in the RC church).

(21) Communion:

If a girl is baptised and for sometime she has been married to an unbeliever, can she take part in the Lord's Supper? If a person is to be baptised, what age should he be? What should he do to be baptised?

Some people who had been stopped from receiving Holy communion or the sacrament because of their marriage situation or their personal life made requests to church leaders to receive communion again.

(22) Obstructions to Christian faith:

Those who stay far from Christians complain of loneliness and isolation.

If a woman wants to follow God and her husband does not what should she do, especially if he does not like her going to church meetings?

I left the church for a long time but God brought me back.

(23) When you have something you are planning to give God and someone comes and begs you for that thing, what are you to do?

APPENDIX NINE

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR KASENA CHRISTIAN RESIDENTS IN THE NORTH

Location: _____ Date: _____
Name of Interviewer _____ Interview No. _____

SECTION A: GENERAL INFORMATION

1. Sex: M__ ; F __ 2. Where from in north _____
3. Where were you born? _____. 4. Age: _____
5. Where do you live now? _____
6. Have you ever been to the south? _____. 7. Position _____
8. Married?__; Single__; Sep__; widowed__; divorced__.
9. No. of wives _____;
10. Education: None __; PS__; MS__; JS__; SS__; Univ__;
Bible Sch__; Other,Specify _____
- 11(a). Are you a Christian? Yes__; No__;
If "NO", what do you follow? Muslim__; Traditional__;
No religion__;Other, give name _____
- 11(b). Which church do you belong to? RC__; PCG__; AG__; CP__; GNC__;
CLM__;Other,given name _____
12. When did you first begin to follow God's way? _____

SECTION B: PROBLEMS PEOPLE FACE

1. Nmo kaane ná jege puga, bæ mo nmo wó ke se o wane o lo lanyerane?
voro__ ; kaane jona__; hospital__; pray__; Other _____
2. Nɔɔno ná popo o te n sɔŋɔ ne ne wó ke tɛ mo?
3. N sɔŋɔ tiina ná boŋi nmo se n ba n ke n kwo naa n nu lua, n ke tɛ mo?
Go__; refuse to go _____.
plaster grave__; feri nɛ__; voro__; laare lilare__; give food__;
talk on grave__; Fulim__; give food__; di botara guli__;doo guli__;
sia__; lua fulim guli__; lesi tio__; choŋa__ Puŋa(sogo)__;
Other _____

4. Kadem wó ke tɛ mo, ba ná wora ba fuli o baro lua?
(o jege se o "swɛ jooni" na?)
swɛ jooni___; voro___; Nothing___; Other_____
5. N kaane ná jege o boɲa puga ye á sɔɲɔ tiina na we ba swɛri (liɲ) o puga, n wó ke tɛ mo?
- 6(a) **Baaro**. Nmo wó ke tɛ mo se n wane na ma n che n kaane se o ye ta wane o duri o joori o vo o kwo sɔɲɔ, o vo o zo nɔɔno wodoɲ naa o wó ta jege bɔɔlo?
- 6 (b) **Kaane**. Nmo wó ke tɛ mo se n baro ye noɲi o kweli bɔɔla poone naa o di kaana badonna o woli da?
7. Nmo kaane ná loga, n laam wó ke-o tɛ mo maɲa kam o na loge bu-seseɲa o ti to?
8. Nmo ná bouɲe we chira wó bwei m, n ke tɛ mo?
- 9 (a) **Baaro**. Nmo ná lage busankana ye n lage se o ta soe nmo, nmo wó ke tɛ mo?
- 9 (b) **Kaane**. Nmo ná lage bakera ye n lage se o ta soe nmo, nmo wó ke tɛ mo?
10. Nɔɔno ná dugi á sɔɲɔ ne dedaane chira ko tɔge woɲo seene, nmo wó ke tɛ mo?
11. Dɔ-kori n ná zege, n wó ke tɛ mo se doa ne?
consult___; chief___; sacrifice___; tangwam___; pray___; other_____
- 12 (a) **Baaro**. Nmo na lage n ja bukɔ n ma di kaane naa n ja bukɔ n ja n duri n vo jeiga, nmo wó ke tɛ mo?
- 12(b) **Kaane**. Nenɛɛne bakera ná jaane nmo we o ja o vo o di kaane, n wó ke tɛ mo?
13. Tega woɲo ná dom nɔɔno n sɔɲɔ ne, n wó ke tɛ mo?
14. Ba ná bwei kadeni we o kuri baaro o zo, ba na fuli o baro lua ba ti to ɲwaane, o wó ke tɛ mo?
15. Nenɛɛne nɔɔn-duɲu ná mage nakwia tu á sɔɲɔ ne, nmo wó ke tɛ mo?
hold knee___; sacrifice___; other_____
16. Nenɛɛne nɔɔno ná so kaane, wonno tɔ mo o wó ma o ke kadiri o kaane wom ɲwaane?
Peiga___Tobacco___; ye___; sugu___; sana/akpeteshie___; Teibera___;
buchongo___; Kayadiri___; Kwɔga wonno___; Lira pia___; Jon pia___;
Other_____
Wedding_____

17. Neneene bu-seseja ná keeri tete ni taa o pore tega, nmo wó ke te mo te-pora ni ne? Pray___; Voró___; Doctor___ Other_____

18. Chero ná lage se o ja nmo joro, nmo wó ke te mo se n che n tete?

19. Neneene nɔɔno na maɛe chero ba pa-m n sɔɔɔ ne, nmo wó ke te mo se n pa nɔɔno wom lore we n dae chero?

20. Neneene ba ná maɛe chero ba yage nɔɔna yerane sɔɔɔ kom wone, nmo wó ke te mo ko jei sem ne?

21 (a) **Baaro.** N kaane kwo ná boɔi n kaane pa o ba o jem sɔɔɔ ne, kolo ɲwaane, nmo na ve se n kaane ba lira kam naa ba joni dem to, nmo wó ke te mo?

kaane jona___; pa se n kaane viiri___; ware Wɛ___; vei Wɛ diga yiga tu___;
loori wolem Krista Bia tei ne___; Other_____

21 (b) **Kaane.** Nmo kwoa ná tage ba bere m we n joori m ba n jem sɔɔɔ ne, se n baaro ve se o ba o ke kaanem o pa jona dedaane lira dedaane tangwana, nmo wó ke te mo? Vei n kwo sɔɔɔ___; maɛe n baro tei ne___; kaane jona___; ware Wɛ___;

vei Wɛ diga yiga tu___; loori wolem___; Other_____

22. N sɔɔɔ nakwia tu ná tage o bere m we chira bam lage varem n tei ne. Ko ná dae konto nɔɔno wó te sɔɔɔ kom ne naa o wó weele, nmo wó ke te mo?

Give animal___; refuse___; explain___; ask christian to come and talk with
househead___; Pray___; Other_____

23. Nɔɔno ná pɔpɔ o zaɛe á sɔɔɔ ne, o weele lanyerane, ye o bwola de toom ne, nmo wó ke te mo?

Voro___; liri tiina___; sampwori___; hospital___; pray___; call christians ___;
other_____

24. Nmo kaane ná noɔi nmo tei ne o daare o yage bia ye o vo o zo baaro wodonɔ jeiga kadoɔ ne ye n laam di kaane wodonɔ. N ka-doori (ka-donɔ) lage se o laam joori o ba nmo tei, nmo wó ke te mo?

25. Nmo wó ke te mo se n che n kara?

26. Neneene nɔɔno ná weele á sɔɔɔ ne o daane lanyerane ye ba ja-o ba ja vo dokta ye ko ba gare o yera ne ye o ba nae yazura de, nmo wó ke te mo?

Voro___; tangwam___; Kasena liri___; doctor___; prayer___; call church leaders___;
mallam___; other_____

27. Nmo kaane ná loge bu á sɔɔɔ ne pa ba ta ba we bu wom ye chichiru mo, nmo wó ke te mo?

Voro___; call chichiru kwenu___; doctor___; nothing___; pray___;
call church leader___; Other_____

28. N ná to tega ne n bori n naga, ye n laam lore we n kwo jaane voro se o lo n yugu we, n wó ke te mo?
29. Chuchoo ná wo nmo soṅo ne, n ke te mo se n pa o chuchooro tem yage? Naa o ná lage o cho nmo wó ke te mo se o ye cho?
30. N ná lage tega se na ma n ke kara, be mo n wó pa tega kam tu?
31. Neneene n dedaane n soṅo noṅo ná jege jara daane, nmo wó ke te mo?
32. Ba ná jaane-m ba ja vo koṅti ye taane dem ná dana, nmo wó ke te mo se n wane n di bora n pa n tete ko jei ne?
33. Nmo ná dwe dendwe balwaaro, n wó ke te mo?
 Voro___; Pray___; ask Christian friend___; church leader___; ask for prayer in church___; ask someone to help know meaning___; other_____
34. Nmo wó ke te mo se n paasi lanyerane n tesi dem ne?
35. Nmo ná bouge we noṅo me dola o dole-m, nmo wó ke te mo?
36. Neneene noṅo yia ná seene nmo wonno baṅa ne ye ba ṅoṅe wonno ba daṅe n baṅa ne maṅa maama, nmo wó ke te mo se n che n tete?
37. Nmo ná lage se n na wonno naa n ji nadum, nmo wó ke te mo se n na wonno tem?
38. Duum doa ná nega, nmo wó ke te mo se n daare n ja n wo-dwa n noṅi n du?
39. Neneene n ná lage n noṅi so-doṅo, nmo wó ke te mo se n laam daare n bobo se n noṅi n soṅo kom?
40. Neneene noṅo ná twe nmo, nmo wó ke te mo?
41. Chira bane ná zaje dedaane nmo, nmo wó ke te mo se n che n tete?
42. Neneene ba ná ṅoge ba kwei n wonno soṅo ne ye n yeri wolo na kwei te maṅa maama to, nmo wó ke te mo se n lore wolo na kwei to?
43. Nmo ná lage n vo choṅa, n wó ke te mo se n yi jeiga kam lanyerane?
 Pray___; Ask for prayer___; voro___; lira___; sacrifice___; Other_____
44. Nmo wó ke te mo se n nae tontong-ṅona?

45. Wo-lɔŋɔ naa chana ná soe se ya ta twi nmo baŋa, nmo wó ke tɛ mo se n che n tete?

46. Nenɛɛne n sɔŋɔ nakwi tu ná we á pwe chira á nyɔ naa á poole chira, kolo ŋwaane nɔɔno ba jege yazura sɔŋɔ kom ne naa o tega ye ba noŋ se ba pwe chira ba nyɔ ye n tɔge n noŋ. N nam ná wo tɔge n nyɔ bá ta we nmo de jege nɔɔno wom n daana, nmo wó ke tɛ mo jeiga kanto ne?

47. Nmo wó ke tɛ mo se n ma n che n tete se ŋweena ye ŋɔ-m?

48. Nenɛɛne nmo kaane ná ba lora, nmo wó ke tɛ mo se o lo?

Tangwam___; Kasena liri___; mallam___; doctor___; pray___;
call christians ___; Other _____

49. Nenɛɛne nmo na tu n ba n ji Krista bu to ye Kasena jege wonno tedonna ko tɔge wodiiru seene ba na chullu to, nmo wó ke tɛ jei sem ne?

50. Nmo wó ke tɛ mo se n na nyɔɔre n tontoŋa baŋa ne?

51. N ná loori Wɛ woŋo ŋwaane ye ko daane ye n ba nae woŋo kom, nmo wó ke tɛ mo?

52. Nmo wó ke tɛ mo se n wane n leri n yuu chichira?

53 (a) Nmo ná tiŋ ni dedaane tangwane ye n laam ba n ji Krista bu, nmo wó ke tɛ mo?

53 (b) Konto ŋwaane n jege se n joori n vo n kwe n ni dem na?

Yes___; No___; Don't know___;

53 (c) Nmo nam ná bá vo n kwe n ni tangwane baŋa ne, mo na maane to, tangwane wó daane-m na? Yes___; No ___.

54. Sɔŋɔ kom tu naa nakwi tu wom sɔŋɔ kom ne yení o jege se o ta vei voro sɔŋɔ nenɛɛne wo-balwaaro ná yení te ke sɔŋɔ kom wone na?

Yes___; No___; Don't know___;

What is your reason for saying this?

55. Nenɛɛne nmo ná so kaane naa n ná zo baro ye n laam daare n ba n ji Kristu bu, nmo laam wó ke kaane wom konto naa baro wom konto tɛ mo?

56. Krista bu mo wora ye o ye o kwo bu kwia. Ba laam ma ke o kwo wom lua ba ti ye ba ta ba bere-o we o na ye Krista bu to o ba wane o ta tei o kwo wom na tege ye o daare naani dedaane tega kalo to. Kolo ŋwaane o ba sɛ se o kaane jona. Nmo ná ye Krista bu konto, n ke tɛ mo ko jei sem ne?

57. Nmo wó jóni malla tu liri naa o kila n ma zenì n tete na?

Yes___; No___; Don't know___; Other_____

58. Nmo wó ke tɛ mo n lɔre maɲa kalo dedaane mɛ nmo wó kaane jona to?

Nmo nam ta kaane jona na? Yes___ No___

END

You have been very helpful and cooperative. Thank you very much for that.

Remarks by interviewer:

1. The Respondent was: (i) Quite cooperative___; (ii) Neutral___;
(iii) Not very cooperative___.

2. The interview lasted about _____hours_____minutes.

3. Comments:

English translation of the Kasem Interview

SECTION B: PROBLEMS PEOPLE FACE

1. If your wife [you] is pregnant, what will you do so that she gives birth well?

2. If a person suddenly dies in your house, what will you do?

3. If your house call you to perform your mother or father's funeral, what do you do?

4. When they perform a man's funeral, what will his widow do?

(Does she have to "swɛ jooni")?

5. If your wife (you) has her first pregnancy and your house people say that they perform the first pregnancy ritual ("bathe stomach"), what will you do?

6. (a) Male. What will you do to prevent your wife from running to her father's house and marrying someone else or having a lover?

6. (b) Female. What will you do so that your husband does not go out and take lovers outside or marry additional wives?

7. When your wife delivers a child, what will you then do?

8. If you think that the *chira* (spirits of the dead) will "ask" you, what will you do?

9 (a) Male. If you love a girl and you want her to love you, what will you do?

9 (b) Female. If you love a boy and you want him to love you, what will you do?

10. If someone in your house swears an oath on the *chira* about something, what will you do?

11. If the rain does not come, what will you do so that the rain falls?

12 (a) Male. If you want to elope with a girl and marry her or run some place with her, what will you do?

12 (b) Female. If a man catches you to marry you, what will you do?

13. If an earth thing [snake] bites a person in the house, what will you do?

14. When they ask the widow to choose a man to marry, because they have completed her husband's funeral, what will she do?
15. If a young man in your house beats an elder, what will you do?
16. When a man marries a wife, what things will he use to make the marriage because of the woman?
17. If a child cries all night, what will you do in the morning?
18. If a *chero* ("witch") wants to catch your soul, what will you do to protect yourself?
19. If someone in the house accuses you of being a *chero*, what will you do so the person knows you are not a *chero*?
20. If someone accuses a person in your house of being a *chero*, what will you do?
- 21 (a) Male. If your wife's father calls your wife to come back and sit in the house because you have refused to sacrifice their medicine or shrines, what will you do?
- 21 (b) Female. If your father tells you to come home because your husband refuses to sacrifice on the shrines, and medicine, what will you do?
22. If your househead tells you that the *chira* want an animal from you otherwise someone in the house will die or become sick, what will you do?
23. If a person in your house suddenly becomes seriously sick and is near to death, what will you do?
24. Your wife runs away and leaves you and the children to marry someone else and you marry another wife. Your old wife then wants to return to you, what will you do?
25. What will you do to protect your crops?
26. If someone in your house is sick for a long time and they took him to the doctor, but he still is not better, what will you do?
27. If your wife [you] delivers a child in your house and they say it is a *chichiru*, what will you do?
28. If you fall and break and leg and you then learn your father has brought a diviner to build your personal shrine, what will you do?
29. If there is a mentally ill person in your house, what will you do so his illness leaves? Or if he is becoming mentally ill, what will you do?
30. If you want land to farm, what will you give the landowner?
31. If you have a fight with someone in your house, what will you then do?
32. If they take you to court and it is very difficult, what will to do to win a favourable judgement?
33. If you have a bad dream, what will you do?
34. What will you do to help you get good grades in your exam?
35. If you suspect that someone uses *dola* (charm) to throw at you, what will you do?
36. If a person is jealous about your things and says things against you all the time, what will you do to protect yourself?
37. What will you do to try and increase your wealth and things?
38. When the first planting rain falls, what will you to before you plant your millet?
39. If you want to move out of your old house, what will you do before you move out of the house?
40. When a person insults you, what will do you do?
41. If the *chira* become angry with you, what will you do to protect yourself?
42. If they steal your things in your house and you do not know who has taken them all the time, what will you do to know the one who has taken them?

43. If you want to travel what will you do to help you reach your destination well?
44. What will you do to get a good job?
45. You often have misfortunes in your life or face problems, what will you do to protect yourself?
46. If your house head (or *nakwia tu*) calls everyone and says that someone has been causing sickness or death and everyone is to drink (*pwe chira*). If you do not drink they will say you are the guilty one who did the thing. What will you do?
47. How will you protect yourself so that thieves do not steal from you?
48. If your wife (or you) has not delivered children, what will you do so that she (you) has a child?
49. What will you do about the taboo (*chullu*) foods now that you are a christian?
50. What will you do to see profit in your work?
51. If you prayed for something for a long time and you have not seen the thing, what will you do?
52. What will you do to change your luck (destiny)?
- 53 (a) If you made an oath on a shrine (*tangwam*) before you became a Christian, what will you do?
- 53 (b) Because of this do you have to fulfil the oath?
- 53 (c) If you do not fulfil the oath, will the shrine (*tangwam*) harm you?
54. Does the house head or elder usually have to go to the diviner (*vororo*) if disharmony or difficulty usually comes on the house?
What is your reason for saying this?
55. If you marry a wife/husband and then become a christian, what will you do with your wife/husband?
56. A Christian man is his father's eldest son. When they perform the father's funeral, they say the Christian can not inherit the father's land and cattle because he does not sacrifice. If you are the Christian, what do you do?
57. Will you use Muslim talisman to help you?
58. How will you know when and where to sacrifice?
Do you sacrifice at all?

APPENDIX TEN

RESULTS FROM THE PQI INTERVIEWS

Table 9. Pregnancy, birth, children, barrenness

Problem - No.	Trad %	Synt %	Orth %	No pr %	Sec %	NA/ DK	Total %
Sweri puga 5	26.2	2.6	68.2	0.5	0.5	2.0	100
Pregnancy 1	1.5	2.6	68.2	-	24.6	3.1	100
Birth 7	8.7	6.7	59.4	-	22.6	2.6	100
Child cry 17	4.6	9.7	65.1	-	20.5	-	100
Chichiru 22	19.0	9.7	43.1	26.2	1.0	1.0	100
Barren 48	0.5	24.1	69.2	0.5	3.6	2.1	100

Table 10. Courtship, marriage, separation, in-laws

Problem	Trad %	Synt %	Orth %	No pr %	Sec %	NA DK	Total
Want lover 9	4.6	47.7	38.9	3.1	1.0	4.6	100
Mar. capt 12	47.7	34.9	16.4	0.5	-	0.5	100
Kadiri 16	33.3	32.3	32.8	0.5	-	1.0	100
Stop lover 6	11.8	43.6	43.1	1.0	-	0.5	100
In-laws 21	20.0	17.4	62.6	-	-	-	100
Wife leave /return 24	38.5	10.8	38.5	-	-	12.2	100

Table 11. Reactions to marriage by capture (12)

	Male	Female	Total	% of total
Run with man/woman	48	3	51	26.2
If love stay, if not run home		11	11	5.6
If caught run home*		34	34	17.4
Refuse not run	33	11	44	22.6
Not run - marry as Christian	21	2	23	11.8
Not run - marry traditionally	16	1	17	8.7
Perform traditional rites	4	2	6	3.1
Pray / consult Christian	5	1	6	3.1
Run if Christian	-	1	1	0.5
NA	-	2	2	1.0
TOTAL	127	68	195	100.0

*Three females stated if they were caught they would run home as this was not the Christian way to marry.

Table 12. Protection of partner from lover (6)

	Male	% of Male	Fem	% of Fem	Total	% of Total
Unable to block the person from running	15	}14.2	4	}7.4	23	11.8
Only customary greetings	3		1			
Action: please, gifts, money, love/sleep with partner.	56	44.1	27	}42.6	85	43.6
Pray with candles or warn him and if refuse leave him.			2			
Pray, advise, tell God's word, kind, care, obey, respect, gifts, unity, understanding.	51	40.1	33	48.5	84	43.1
Not problem, would not do	1	0.8	1	1.5	2	1.0
Don't know	1	0.8	-	-	1	0.5
TOTALS	127	100.0	68	100.0	195	100.0

Table 13. Refusal to *kaane*: wife called to parents home

If a woman's parents call her to return to the house because her husband has refused to *kaane jona*, what will you do? (21)

Response	Male	% of male	Fem	% of fem	Total	% of total
<i>kaane</i> , let someone do on behalf of person Run home	33	26.0	3 3	}8.8	39	20.0
Pray, call church leader, <i>kaane</i> or someone do it for me* Run home/pray come to <i>kaane</i> let go	20 7	}21.3	3 4	}10.3	34	17.4
Refuse to <i>kaane</i> , explain why, pray, tell God's word	67	52.7	55	80.9	122	62.6
TOTALS	127	100.0	68	100.0	195	100.0

Table 14. Reactions to non-Christian partner (55)

	Male	% of male	Fem	% of fem	Total	% of total
Leave/let go if refuses to go to church or repent	11	8.7	3	4.4	14	7.2
Let partner go to church, convert him/her, wedding Let him <i>kaane</i> , I go church	71	55.9	12 1	}19.1	84	43.1
Accept/keep/not leave Pray and communicate Love, witness, respect, invite to church	15 18 10	}33.9	11 23 11	}66.1	91	46.7
Not relevant	1		1		2	
Don't know			1		1	
No answer	1		4		5	
TOTALS	127	100.0	68	100.0	195	100.0

Table 15. What a widow should do about remarriage after her husband's funeral ritual (14)

Categories of answers	No.
<u>Marry</u>	
Marry	9
Ask <i>nakwia tiina</i>	4
Traditionally - choose a "brother" or from the "family"	59
Choose family, small boy or grave	12
Choose unmarried brother, stay alone or send the person to church	5
Family if children, if not outside	3
Family, then run marry who want	1
If old choose child, if young marry	2
Marry anyone she likes, child/grave	17
Anyone except an unmarried man	1
Any unmarried person anywhere	1
If christian pray before choosing/wait God show	2
Marry christian, good man who cares	6
Pray for christian to marry	5
TOTAL MARRY	127
<hr/>	
<u>Depends on children/Christian to marry</u>	
If children - stay/choose a child,	2
If no christian to marry, stay care for children, do God's work	11
Stay care for child, if not marry far away	1
TOTAL "DEPEND ON CHILDREN"	14
<hr/>	
<u>Not marry</u>	
Not choose, refuse, or not marry	38
Go father's house -remain alone	1
TOTAL "NOT MARRY"	39
<hr/>	
<u>Uncertain</u>	
If christian, ask church leader	1
Don't know / very hard	9
Not answered	5
TOTAL "UNCERTAIN"	15
TOTAL	195

Table 16. Death, funeral, widows, inheritance

PROBLEM	Trad %	Synt %	Orth %	No pr %	Sec %	NA DK	Total
Sudden death 2	17.9	12.8	55.9	2.1	10.8	0.5	100
Funeral 3	41.0	11.3	45.1	-	-	2.6	100
Widow act 4	35.4	5.1	45.1	1.0	2.6	10.8	100
Inherit 56	4.6	6.2	69.7	-	16.4	3.1	100

Table 17. Sickness, accident, mental illness, *dola*

PROBLEM	Trad %	Synt %	Orth %	No pr %	Sec %	NA DK	Total
Accident 28	16.4	6.7	71.8	4.1	0.5	0.5	100
Mental ill 29	16.4	2.6	68.7	1.0	10.8	0.5	100
Long Sick 26	11.8	23.1	63.6	-	1.0	0.5	100
Snake 23	20.5	12.3	46.7	-	20.5	-	100
Dola 35	28.7	7.7	44.6	12.3	6.1	0.5	100

Table 18. Christians' reactions to sudden sickness (23)

RESPONSE	Number	Percent
Hospital, pray and /or fast or Kasena <i>liri</i> with no sacrifice	88	45.1
Pray &/or call christians, fast, "herbs", tell God's word, confess	54	27.7
Pray and baptise person or call the Priest to baptise them.	21	10.8
Pray and go to <i>liri tu</i> or <i>voro</i>	13	6.7
Send the person to hospital	11	5.6
<i>Voro</i> , <i>liri</i> and go to a hospital	6	3.1
Total	193	99.0

Table 19. Rain, farm, house build

PROBLEM	Trad %	Synt %	Orth %	No pr %	Sec %	NA DK	Total
Rain 11	1.0	7.2	84.1	7.2	0.5	-	100
Plant 38	1.0	7.2	75.9	0.5	14.9	0.5	100
Prot.farm 25	7.2	4.1	62.1	12.8	12.3	0.5	100
Build hse 39	22.1	6.2	57.4	7.2	5.1	2.0	100

Table 20. Christians' actions for acquiring land (30)

Response	Number	Percent
Fowl, what land owner wants - kola, salt, hoe, tobacco, alcohol, produce from harvest.	71	36.4
No fowl, but kola and other things	57	29.3
Tobacco & produce; yam, tea, sugar & produce; yam & salt; money & food.	23	11.8
Only money*	15	7.7
Animal or guinea fowl plus other items.	10	5.1
Gifts with no sacrifice & pray.	10	5.1
NA or don't know	9	4.6
Total	195	100.0

* Although 45 people mentioned money as part of their response. Almost all of those who stated they would give money were in the south.

Table 21. Disputes, other issues

PROBLEM	Trad %	Synt %	Orth %	No pr %	Sec %	NA DK	Total
Beat elder 15	66.7	8.7	8.2	0.5	15.9	-	100
Insult 42	17.4	9.7	38.5	27.7	6.2	0.5	100
House disp 31	33.8	12.3	45.6	1.0	6.7	0.5	100
Court 32	0.5	6.6	76.5	1.5	12.2	2.1	100
Good work 44	-	3.0	79.5	-	14.9	2.6	100
Wealth 37	0.5	13.8	67.2	0.5	17.4	0.5	100
Profit 50	-	20.5	52.3	1.0	24.1	2.1	100
Thief Protectn 47	7.2	2.6	69.2	3.6	14.9	2.5	100
Identify thief 42	9.2	4.1	69.7	0.5	14.4	2.1	100
Jealousy 36	4.1	8.7	77.7	6.2	1.5	1.5	100
Exams 34	0.5	0.5	74.4	0.5	23.1	1.0	100
Travel 43	-	3.6	90.3	1.5	3.1	2.1	100
Dream 33	1.0	7.7	85.6	1.0	4.1	0.5	100
Difficulty 45	3.0	2.6	88.2	2.6	-	3.6	100
Change luck 52	3.6	2.6	74.9	14.9	-	4.1	100

Table 22. Christians' reactions to unanswered prayer (51)

Response	Number	Percent
Continue to pray	121	62.1
Pray plus comment "till I get"*	43	22.1
Pray and fast	4	2.1
Repent all sin; check life; accept God not want to give; change what I pray for	21	10.8
Voro; God not seen it or would give	2	1.0
NA/ don't know	4	2.1
Total	195	100.0

*Other comments included "1 Thess 5:17"; "God has his time"; "change item"; "maybe not time"; "trust God"; "work harder"; "not God's will pray for another thing"; "day not up yet"; "live holy life".

Table 23. *Chira, tangwana, oaths, solve problems, chera*

Problem	Trad %	Synt %	Orth %	No pr %	Sec %	NA DK	Total
Chira ang 41	9.2	11.8	40.0	16.4	8.2	14.4	100
Chira ask 8	11.3	10.3	46.2	24.6	2.6	4.1	100
Chira want animal 22	15.4	15.4	65.1	3.1	1.0	-	100
Pwe chira 46	20.5	12.3	62.6	1.0	1.5	2.1	100
Swr chira 49	20.5	5.1	51.8	17.9	2.1	2.6	100
Chullu 49	38.5	5.1	53.3	1.5	-	1.5	100
Tang oath 52	15.4	2.6	68.2	9.7	-	4.1	100
Know sac 58	0.5	8.7	46.2	8.7	-	35.9	100
Liri 57	1.0	-	-	96.9	-	2.1	100
Chero cat 18	6.7	11.8	55.4	10.3	0.5	15.3	100
Acc chero 19	17.9	5.1	52.8	12.8	10.3	1.0	100
Accuse pers chero 20	20.5	5.6	41.0	12.3	19.6	1.0	100

KADIRI KURI - FELLOWSHIP OF GOOD NEWS CHURCHES

Poone yiga sɛɛm

Kaane wom tiina wora na? Abam yei á bukɔ wom na lage o zo baro to ni ne na? Á jege taane se á ta na?

Nabiina tetare sɛɛm

Nɔɔno wɔ mo wo yo seeni ye o we ko wo maɲ se Baaro wom de kaane wonto zo daane?

Ware Wɛ

Bobo

Wɛ kwora bere debam we, baaro de kaane zoorem maɲ se ko ta jege sono de zula mo. Bɛ ɲwaane ko ye Wɛ mo bobo kadiri kure, ye ko daare ye weleere laam ma ba nabiina wo.

Genesis 2:18 bere we, "Ko wo maɲ se baaro ta wora o yerane, ko maɲ se o ta jege o wolim tu."

Taane dento bere we kadiri ye Baɲa Wɛ bobwe mo. Konto ɲwaane to, ko wo maɲ se de ke kem dento yɔɔ yerane. Ko maɲ se de maama ke de de zula mo.

Ka tiɲi ni de Wɛ (Baaro)

Baɲa Wɛ ná wolim nmo (.....), nmo wó ta n lage se n kwe kaane wonto se o ta ye n kaane na?

1. Nmo wó tiɲi ni de Wɛ we nmo wó se se n ta soe-o ne Yezu na soe nmo tei to na?
2. Nmo wó se se n ta n nege-o ye n daare n zuli-o na?
3. Nmo wó se n ta jege-o ye n nii o baɲa ne de (nenɛɛne) o na maɲe o ji lilwei na?
4. Nmo wó se se n ta lage o ni wodi de o yera gwaaro n pa-o na?
5. Nmo wó se we n bá ta n mage-o naa n ta n ke kem chɛɛre o baɲa ne na?
6. Nmo wó se se n ta jege-o de o na maɲe o ba lora na?
7. Nmo wó se we n bá n noɲi poone n lage kaana badonna naa n peni de ba na?
8. Nmo wó se we n bá so kaane wodonɲ n ba n woli o wone na?
9. Nmo wó se se n de do ta wora daane taa se ko vo yi maɲa kalo toone ná wó pɔɔre abam daane to na?

Nmo ná se, ta taane dento n tɔge amo kɔga.

Ka tiɲi nia de Wɛ (kaane)

Baɲa Wɛ ná wolim nmo (.....), nmo ye siiri se n kwe baaro wonto se o ta ye n baro na?

1. Nmo wó tiɲi ni de Wɛ we nmo wó ta nege-o ye se o ni wonno maama baɲa ne na?
2. Nmo wó se se n de do ta zoore daane de o yia ya ze maɲe ya jei naa o ná ba jege yezura na?
3. Nmo wó se se n de do ta wora daane de o ná maɲe o ye yiniga tu ye o ware gwaaro o yegi o pa-m na?
4. Nmo wó se se á ta zoore daane de á ná maɲe á bá jege bia daane na?
5. Nmo wó se we n bá ta n duri n vei n kwo sɔɲɔ naa n jei n viiri na?

6. Nmo wó sɛ we n bá n nonji poone n lage baara naa n peni de ba na?
7. Nmo wó sɛ we n bá yage n baro wom ye n nonji n vo n zo baro wodon na?
8. Nmo wó sɛ se n de n baro wom ta wora daane taa se ko vo yi maɲa kalo Baɲa Wɛ tete ná wó pa toone pɔɔre abam daane to na?

Nmo ná sɛ, ta taane dento n tɔge amo kɔga.

Kwe kandili dedwe n twɛre n zege. Nam pa se baro wom de o kaane wom ja ba kandila yam ba ja ba ba ma twɛre delo na zege de di to.

Baɲa Wɛ na ke ba daane konto to, toone yerane mo wó pɔɔre ba daane. Kandili dem zege de bere we, Yezu mo ye poone, wonto yerane nam mo wó pa kaane de o baro laɲa ta ye chekke, cham maɲa ne.

Ba ná lage se yoni de wopolo ba ba laɲa ko maɲ mo se ba sɛ ba ta ke fi tontɔɲa yanto daane.

Ba ná sɛ ba tɔge Wɛ kwora na bere tei to, ba wó nɛ wopolo kolo ná bá ti to. Ba nam ma ve, wo-chɔgo yerane mo wó ba ba tei.

Kaane-baaro. Ga Efisia 5:25

Ko ye nmo fi-tontwe mo se n ta n nii se n daare n ta n woli n kaane wom cham de yaara maɲ ne de sono de pu-dɛa.

Kaane. Ga Efisia 5:22-24

Ko ye nmo de fi-tontwe mo se n ta n nege n baro wom ye n sɛ o ni de zula de goonim ne ko na maɲ de balo na tɔge Wɛ choɲa tei to.

Ba maama balei bam

Ko ye abam maama fi-tontwe mo se á ta soe daane ye á jege de-ɲɔɲa. Ko zege zem ko ta via, abam ye nɔɔno de o kaane mo. Ta yei-na we, Wɛ nam na pɛ se á kwaare daane konto to, nɔɔn-nɔɔno daa ye pɔɔre abam daane.

Mat 19:6, 1 Cor. 7:10-11.

Leilei konto abam na sɛ se á ba daane Wɛ de Yezu Krista kɔgɔ kom yiga ne to, amo lage se a ta abam we ko zege zem á ye nɔɔno de o kaane mo, Kwo Wɛ, ko woli de o Bu wom de o Sinlaao kom yere ɲwaane. Amin.

Kuni donna se de ware Wɛ.

Source: Francis Kupoe, Fellowship of Good News Churches, Chiana, 1993.

Translation:

Marriage Celebration - Fellowship of Good News Churches

Agreement in Public

Are the bride's people here? Do you know that your daughter wants to marry a husband? Do you have any thing to say?

Agreement from People

Which people here do not think it is fit that this man and woman marry each other?

Pray to God

Beginning

God's word shows that it is fit man and woman to marry and to have love and respect. Because it is God who began marriage before sin came into the midst of people. Genesis 2:18 shows that "It is not fit for a man to be there alone. It is fit that he has a helper." This saying shows that marriage began with God. Because of this, it is not fit that we make this event uselessly.

Promises (oaths) with God (Man)

If God helps you (.....), will you take this woman so that she is your wife?

1. Will you promise with God that you will agree to love her like Jesus loves you?
2. Will you agree to respect and honour her?
3. Will you agree to keep and care for her even if she becomes blind?
4. Will you agree that you will give food and clothes to her?
5. Will you agree that you will not beat her or treat her harshly?
6. Will you agree to keep her even if she does not give birth?
7. Will you agree that you will not go out wanting other women or sleeping with them?
8. Will you agree that you will not marry an additional wife?
9. Will you agree that you and she be together for ever until it reaches the time that death will separate you?

If you agree, say this after me (An oath to God is repeated).

Promises (oaths) with God (Woman)

If God helps you (.....), are you ready to take this man so that he is your husband?

1. Will you promise with God that you will respect and agree that he sees over you?
2. Will you agree that you and he will remain together even if his sight goes or he is not well?
3. Will you agree that you and he will be there together even if he is poor and he can not buy cloth for you?
4. Will you agree that you be together even if you do not have children together?
5. Will you agree that you will not run and go to your father's house or run away and get lost?

6. Will you agree that you will not go outside wanting men or sleeping with them?
7. Will you agree that you will not leave your husband and go out to marry another man?
8. Will you agree that you and your husband will be there forever until it reaches the time that God will allow death to separate you?

If you agree, say this after me (An oath to God is repeated).

Take this single candle and light it. Then let the husband and the wife take their candles and light them from the one standing.

When God puts them together, only death will separate them. The candle standing there shows that Jesus is light, this one alone then will let the wife and her husband's way (life) be really fine even in difficulty.

If they want sweetness and happiness to come on their lives, it is fit that they agree to work together. If they agree to follow what God's word says, they will see happiness which will never end. If they refuse, disputes ('stomach-spoiling') will come on them.

Husbands. Read Ephesians 5:25.

Wives . Read Ephesians 5:22-24.

The two

Mat 19:6, 1 Cor 7:10-11.

Now that you agree to come together in front of God and Jesus Christ's people, I tell you that from today you are man and wife, in the name of Father God, His Son and the Holy Spirit. Amen.

Kneel so that we pray to God.